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Death of a City

LORIN WEISENFELD

The name "Batsto", in the Lenni Lenape tongue, meant "bathing place." It was the name these Indians gave to a small, slow-running creek flowing through what white men later called "The Indian Field." The name—alternately spelled Batstowe and Batstoo—was later applied to an iron manufacturing community established in the community. Batsto grew and died slowly. At its peak it contained, in addtion to the iron works, two glass factories, a brick-making plant, two sawmills and a grist mill. Batsto was an agricultural center in southern New Jersey, and ships launched from its ways sailed down the Mullica to the ocean and world commerce. That was the Batsto of more than a century ago. Today, overgrown and partly over-run with pineland vegetation, Batsto rests quietly, giving little hint of its previous glory and importance.

Batsto was built at "the Fork," where five streams meet to form the Mullica River. Indians called the streams Baastoo

This article is an excerpt from the essay which won first prize in 1959 in the local history essay contest for New Jersey high school students sponsored by the New Jersey Historical Society. The author was, at the time of the contest, a student at the Hillside High School.

(Batsto), Atseyunk (Atsion, or Upper Mullica), Mechescarauxin (Machesautauzen), Nescochageu (Nescochague), and Yacomanshag.

One John Munrow purchased "the Fork" from the Council of West Jersey Proprietors in 1757. His tract included three parcels: one "between Atsion River and Batstow Creek," another "on the west side of the Atsion River," and a third "on the east side of Batstow Creek." These three parcels marked the location of the plantation, the furnace, and the village, respectively.

Munrow was a land speculator, and in 1759 he sold a half-interest in the Batsto lands to Vincent Leeds, for whom Vincentown is named. Two years later, Leeds and Munrow sold Batsto to John Fort on an installment plan basis. Fort built and operated a sawmill on the site for several years. He could not cut enough timber to meet payments, and in May 1764 the Batsto tract was offered to the public at a foreclosure sale in Common Pleas Court. Richard Westcoat (or Westcott) bid "300 pounds proclamation money," the only offer made. He was awarded the land and given a deed jointly by the High Sheriffs of Gloucester and Burlington Counties.

One year later, Charles Read, an "iron monger, . . . statesman, and farmer,"[1] purchased a half-interest in several Batsto acres from Westcoat for 200 pounds. Prior to making his purchase, Read had explored the property with an eye toward producing iron. He found that it contained the four essentials of the iron industry: bog iron, which lay in sufficient quantity and quality in creek and swamp beds; thousands of forested acres to supply wood for making charcoal, the colonial furnace fuel; sufficient labor in the lumbermen, fishers, and hunters of neighboring squatter villages; and water power from the Batsto, Atsion, and Nescochague River. In addition, easy access to the Mullica River provided a convenient way of carrying iron goods to ocean ports.

One month after Read's purchase from Westcoat, he bought from John Estell the mineral rights to land lying along the Atsion River. For five shillings Read purchased the right to all

[1]Henry A. Bisbee, *Place Names in Burlington County* (Riverside, N. J.: Burlington County Publishing Co., 1955), p.4.

"wood fitt for the making of coal . . . and also the Ironstone and ore."

Read next petitioned the colonial legislature for permission to dam the Batsto River. In an act entitled "An Act to enable the Honourable Charles Read, Esquire, to erect a dam over Batstow Creek . . . ," the legislature summarized Read's objectives:

> By his humble petition [Read] proved to demonstration good merchantable Bar-Iron may be drawn from such Ore as may be found in plenty in the Bogs and . . . in such parts of this Province . . . too poor for cultivation . . .; and in order to erect the necessary Works . . . [Read "prays"] the aid of the Legislature to enable him to erect a Dam across said Creek . . .[2]

Read built the Batsto Iron Works within a year. The new dam, built at a cost of about $200, gave Read sufficient water power to operate "four bellows and two hammer wheels." The furnace was located on the Burlington County side of the stream, on a small knoll.

There are no records extant concerning the actual construction of the Batsto Iron Works. The first laborers were unskilled Pineys who willingly retired from their unprofitable trades to work at the furnace.

Read was beset by financial difficulties from the start. By 1768 he had sold his half-interest in the operation to four different parties: Reuben Haines, of Philadelphia; John Cooper, of Burlington; Walter Franklin, of New York; and John Wilson, who lived near by.

During the first year of its operation, the principal product of Batsto Furnace was pig iron,[3] some of which was refined at a neighboring furnace in Atsion. Read's four successors appear to have kept Batsto in constant operation. In 1770 they advertised for a runway hand, a lad named Andrew McGarvey, whom they had recently "taken out of Gloucester gaol."

Colonel John Cox, a Philadelphia merchant and ardent patriot, was the next owner of the Batsto Iron Works. By the end of 1770 he had purchased all outstanding shares for about

[2]Arthur D. Pierce, *Iron in the Pines* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1937), p. 119.

[3]Charles S. Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), p. 175.

2,300 pounds. The colonial iron industry was stimulated by non-importation agreements which preceded the Revolution. In November 1773 Cox advertised:

Wanted, at Batsto Furnace, near the Forks of the Little Egg Harbour, a number of hearty, industrious, Men, accustomed to wood chopping, to whom 2/6 a cord will be given for all they cut from the time of engaging to the 10th of April, the wood being chiefly pine. Those desirous of being employed may apply to
WILLIAM RICHARDS, Manager of said Furnace, or to the suscriber in Water-Street, Philadelphia.

JOHN COX, JUN.[4]

Despite British efforts to limit colonial iron production to protect the industries of Sheffield and Birmingham, Cox produced a variety of household and commercial articles. This may be seen from an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 7, 1775:

MANUFACTURED AT BATSTO FURNACE in West New Jersey, and to be sold either at the works or by the suscriber, in Philadelphia, a great variety of iron pots, kettles, Dutch ovens and oval fish kettles, either with or without covers, skillets of different sizes, being much lighter, neater, and superior in quality to any imported from Great Britain; Potash, and other large kettles from 35 to 125 gallons, sugar mill cudgels, neatly rounded and polished at the ends; weights of all sizes, from 7 to 56 lb.; Fuller plates; open and close stoves, of different sizes; rag-wheel iron for sawmills; pestles and mortars, sash weights, and forge hammers of the best quality. Also Batsto Pig-Iron as usual, the quality of which is too well known to need any recommendation.

JOHN COX[5]

At the outbreak of the Revolution Cox entered into a 2,481 pound contract with the Pennsylvania Council of Safety to produce large quantities of cannon balls. This "shott" had to be hauled overland because of the effective British blockage of the Delaware River.

The important of Batsto to the Colonial cause may be judged by the fact that Cox and workers at the furnace were exempted from military service. Col. Cox was ordered to organize "a company of fifty men and two lieutenants, with himself as captain,"

[4]*Ibid*, pp. 177-178.
[5]Pierce, *op. cit.*, p.122.

this force being required to serve only in the event of an invasion.[6] Besides ammunition, the Batsto Iron Works also made large evaporating pans, used by the army to evaporate salt water and gain the much needed salt.

Cox's activities on behalf of the Colonial cause won him the position of Assistant Quartermaster General. Soon after his promotion, Cox decided to sell Batsto. Pierce suggests that he withdrew from the furnace in order to have more time to socialize with such colonial notables as Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Knox, and Greene. It appears that Mrs. Cox had social ambitions for their six daughters, if not for themselves.

In 1778 Cox sold Batsto to John Mayberry for 40,000 pounds. Evidently he had been financially successful, because he originally paid only 2,300 pounds for the furnace. Six months later Mayberry resold Batsto to Joseph Ball for 55,000 pounds, one of the largest real estate transactions in the country up to that time.[7]

Ball, who had been manager of the works under John Cox as early as 1776, took possession of Batsto in 1779 and remained at the helm for six years. He was not sole owner, however, having sold shares of varying sizes to at least four other men.

The most important improvement instituted under Ball was the building of a forge and slitting mill about a half mile west of the village. The forge was located beside a small finger lake,[8] called the "Forge Pond," on the approximate site of a once important sawmill built by Samuel Cripps in 1739. Ball also dammed the Atsion River to form "New Pond," which lay between the Forge Pond and Batsto Lake. The purpose of this third source of water power is not known.

When post-war deflation set in, Ball became anxious to retire from the bog iron industry. He placed an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of April 15, 1784, offering Batsto for sale. This advertisement gave a valuable contemporary picture of the village. The "new forge with four fires and two hammers . . .

[6]Boyer, *op. cit.*, p.183.

[7]K. Braddock-Rogers, "The Bog Ore Industry in South Jersey Prior to 1845," *Journal of Chemical Education*, VII (July, 1930), p. 1501.

[8]The ruins of the forge may still be seen. Although the dam has long since been destroyed, remains of a raceway are visible. On its banks are heaps of slag.

is capable of making 200 pounds of bar iron per annum." This capacity made it one of the largest in the state. The slitting mill produced items such as nails, sheet iron and wheels. In addition to the forge, slitting mill and furnace, the land was "abundantly supplied with wood and ore of the best quality." The village itself contained "proper dwelling houses and outhouses . . . and near two thousand fruit trees." It was located near the "Forks of the Little Egg Harbour . . . best inlet on the coast of New Jersey . . . within one day's sailing from New York.[9]

In 1784 the Batsto Iron Works and "all the Lands, Stock, Ore, and Appurtenances of every kind thereunto belonging,"[10] about 7000 acres in all, were sold to William Richards. Born into a Pennsylvania mining family, Richards first appeared at Batsto as manager under Cox. Soon after his purchase of Batsto, Richards resold a one-third share to Ball and another third to Charles Petit of Philadelphia, who was to merchandise the goods in that town.

Richards was "a shrewd and energetic businessman,"[11] and the iron works prospered once more under his management. He rebuilt the furnace in 1786, paid off the company's debts, bought out his partners, and expanded his estate further into Burlington and Gloucester Counties.

Because Batsto Furnace was dependent upon streams for water power and huge forests for charcoal, it was situated somewhat off the main line of travel. By necessity it became a small, self-contained community, resembling, somewhat, a feudal manor. Although slave labor was not used at Batsto (as it was in several other Jersey furnaces), Batsto remained feudal in its economic and social structure. Richards, as owner of the iron works, considered himself "lord of the manor." His say was final among indentured servants and laborers. From his "big house" he, or members of his family, counselled the employees and gave them "aid and comfort in their dire needs."[12] He also provided them

[9]Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-129.

[10]Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[11]A.M. Heston (ed.), *South Jersey, A History:* 1664-1924 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1924), II, 746-748.

[12]Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 187. Boyer gives the reader an excellent picture of a bog iron community.

with the services of a doctor, lawyer, or minister, when needed. Food and clothing were bought at the company store, often on credit and always at reasonable prices. In elections, workmen followed the party and candidates of their employer, considering him better able to decide the issues.

Life after hours at Batsto was peaceful. Lack of money ruled out a great number of social events, even at the Richards mansion, although the "big house" was famous throughout the southern part of the state for its hospitality.[13] Workmen hunted, fished, or drank (Jersey lightning or applejack) for amusement. Saturday nights were spent in taverns along the stagecoach line at Pleasant Mills, Quaker Bridge and Washington. Occasionally, "visiting shows of beasts" and "circus shows" performed in the neighborhood.

William Richards continued to operate the Batsto Iron Works profitably until his retirement. In 1809 he turned the management of his estate over to his son Jesse, who had worked with him all along. Soon after Jesse took control, the War of 1812 created a boom in the bog iron industry. The amount of munitions produced at Batsto reached record proportions, and the furnace reached its period of greatest prosperity. The iron works employed about 125 men, and the town contained some 1000 persons.

Bog ore deposits began to run low several years after the war. It appears that the war taxed deposits so heavily that additional limestone was unable to accumulate, or perhaps nature was no longer reproducing ironstone in the theoretical period of twenty years.

Depletion of the bogs brought changes in the economic life of Batsto. Lumbering was always important in the Pine Barrens, and from 1739 there were usually two sawmills in operation in the town. Records show that large quantities of shiders, lath, and other rough cuttings were exported to the outside world.

Shipping and shipbuilding became important, commercially. By 1844, at least three schooners, built and launched at Batsto,

[13]Henry C. Beck, *Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey* (New York: E.P. Dutton Co., 1936), p. 31.

were sailing for the Richards estate. Most ships ran between Batsto and Philadelphia, the West Jersey ports, New York City, Albany, and occasionally the New England coast. Returning to their home port, the ships carried pig iron to replace the ore which could no longer be raised from the partially depleted bogs. These ships also exported bricks and some charcoal.

Business improved in the late 1820's. Jesse Richards imported a good deal of ore, and Pierce notes that the forge became known for the "excellence and variety of its castings," as well as for its pig iron. The decorative fence which once stood behind Independence Hall, Philadelphia, was made at Batsto, as was the steam cylinder for John Fitch's fourth steamboat, the "Perseverance." Ornamental firebacks and other household articles made during this period are housed today in various historical societies. Some gas and water pipes made at Batsto are probably still to be found today under Philadelphia and Camden.

In 1834 Thomas F. Gordon, who wandered up and down the state collecting information for his *Gazetteer,* wrote of Batsto:

> There are made here 850 tons of iron, chiefly castings, giving employment to 60 or 70 men, and maintaining altogether near 400 persons. There are here also a grist and saw mill, and from 50 to 60,000 acres of land appurtenant to the works.[14]

In 1838, ten years after he rebuilt Batsto Furnace for the third time, Richards installed the newly perfected "hot blast" method of smelting iron. This method enabled furnaces throughout the country to use coke as a fuel instead of charcoal, and it gave western Pennsylvania's iron and steel industry a great advantage over its Jersey competitors because of its proximity to the extensive fields of newly discovered anthracite coal.[15] Profits began to slack off at Batsto because of the increased cost of fuel and the growing competition from Pennsylvania furnaces which were producing iron more cheaply. Introduction of the "hot blast" marked the beginning of the end of the Pine Barrens bog iron industry.

[14]Thomas F. Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton: Daniel Fenton, 1834), p. 97.

[15]"Life in a Southern New Jersey Furnace Community in Early 19th Century," *Steel Facts,* February-March 1944, pp. 6-8.

Although other Jersey iron furnaces were giving up, Richards was determined to fight back. In 1841 he installed a "cupola," or resmelting furnace, which refined pig iron into finished products of better quality than were previously attainable. Seven years later a second cupola was installed.

The introduction of the cupola brought back a measure of prosperity to Batsto. Barber and Howe wrote of Batsto in 1845:

> It contains a large grist and saw mill, and the furnace of Jesse Richards, Esq., where are usually employed 125 men; and it is estimated that 700 or 800 persons derive their subsistence from these works.[16]

Neither cupola, however, was particularly successful, and both were in constant need of repair. The Batsto *Store Book*, a ledger kept at the Richards company store, reported in December 1848: "Cupola idle for want of iron. Men working in blacksmith shop, salting pork and odd jobs. Iron business bad." Pierce notes that for the next four years the cupola operated irregularly for "want of" coal, pig iron, or customers. Lacking the same essentials, Batsto Furnace blew off permanently in 1848. In 1852 an entirely new cupola was constructed, but it proved no more successful than its predecessors.

Engaged in a losing struggle against Pennsylvania iron,[17] Richards may have realized that the Batsto works would never again regain its importance in the industry.[18] For this reason he brought another major industry, also indigenous to the Pine Barrens, to Batsto—glass manufacturing.

Glass was first blown at Batsto in May 1846. The Batsto Glass Works specialized in "flat glass," used in making window panes and the flat panes in street lamps. Richards shipped glass to New York, Philadelphia, and other large cities, and attempted to

[16]John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton: Daniel Fenton, 1834), p. 97.

[17]Francis B. Lee, in *New Jersey as a Colony and State* (New York: Publishing Society of New Jersey, 1902) vol. III, p. 252, offers the opinion that the growth of the iron industry in northern New Jersey placed the "stamp of economic death" on Batsto.

[18]Braddock-Rogers, speaking from the chemist's point of view, reports that the doom of the Jersey bog ore industry was sealed because the iron being produced was high in sulphur and phosphorus content, which, at the time, left it unfit for further refining into steel.

have ships carry back pig iron on the return trip. By 1850 they usually came home "in ballast."

Four classes of glass were produced in the Batsto Glass Works: Union Extra, Union First, Greenbrush Patent, and Neponset Patent, in descending order of quality. Later, names with more class were adopted: Star & Moon, Jess Richards, Sterling, and Washington. On occasion, purchasers complained about the following faults in Batsto glass:

1. Cut short of measure,
2. Not of uniform quality,
3. Corners broken off panes for street lights,
4. Large glass blown too thin and improperly flattened,
5. Badly packed—sometimes no cushioning at all in box.[19]

The second glass factory at Batsto was built shortly after the furnace died out in 1848. In June of that year the first "glass house" burned, and two years later, the second met the same fate. Each was repaired in due time, and each burned to the ground again in due time.

The period of peak prosperity was over at Batsto; after 1850 the economic road led downhill. An interesting picture of the history of the village may be gleaned from the population figures of Washington Township. To interpret these figures correctly, one must remember that in normal times one-half of the people in Washington Township lived in the hamlet of Batsto.

Year	*Population*
1840	1630
1850	2010
1855	1190
1860	1723
1865	1237
1870	609
1875	499[20]

Jesse Richards died in 1854, taking his drive and vitality with him. Although an Episcopalian, Richards was buried in the graveyard of the Pleasant Mills Roman Catholic Church, which

[19]Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[20]New Jersey, Census Bureau, *Compendium of Censuses, 1725-1905* (Trenton: John L. Murphy Publishing Co., 1906), p. 16.

he helped build. He lies there today, "Beloved, Honored, Mourned."

The Batsto estate was divided among Richards' six children, Thomas H. becoming manager. Though educated and well-meaning, Thomas Richards did not have the force and energy of his father. Batsto began to die a slow death under his management.

The cupola worked only twenty-six days in 1855, and it was not operated at all during 1856 and 1857. On August 3, 1858, the *Store Book* notes: "Tearing down cupola." Thus ended the bog iron industry in Batsto.

Thomas Richards turned his full energies toward glass and lumber, the only major industries left on his estate. Tragic fires continued to occur at the glass works, but Richards had two fairly productive years in 1858 and 1859. In 1860, cranberry cultivation, today a major crop in south Jersey, was introduced with moderate success.

Robert Stewart, who had worked for fifteen years under the Richards, was given full control in 1861. He led the glass works through the reasonably prosperous Civil War years.

After the war the economic vise tightened again, and approximately half the population moved away. A correspondent for the *New Jersey Courier* wrote on December 18, 1866:

> In passing through the village of Batsto a few days ago, I took a notion to examine the ruins of an old iron furnace, that stands at the north entrance of the village. This old relic was built in 1766, just one hundred years ago. The old furnace and forges have passed away, and glass houses, grist and sawmills, paper manufactories, etc. have taken their place. Batsto at present is under the patriarchal supervision of Thomas Richards, one of the owners, and boasts of two sawmills, one grist mill, and a large window glass factory.[21]

In 1867, after fire burned the glass works to the ground for the fifteenth time, the "blower boys" refused "to work on account of not receiving cash." Creditors demanded payment of old debts, and new debts piled up. Some money was raised through

[21]Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

the sale of 50,000 acres to the Batsto Farm and Agricultural Company for real estate development. Financial difficulties continued to mount, and Batsto went into receivership in 1868. All operations ceased.

The Richards mansion soon fell into disrepair, and factory hands moved on. Agricultural workers began to haul their produce to other markets. During the evening of January 23, 1874, a spark from manager Stewart's own chimney set fire to his home. Bucket brigades proved futile, and by morning the glass factory and seventeen homes were reduced to rubble. Half the families in the village were left homeless.

The fire of 1874 marked the death knell of any plans to reactivate the Batsto works. The curtain had rung down on Batsto.

In 1876, Batsto was placed on the block at a Masters Sale and bought by Joseph Wharton of Philadelphia. He paid $14,000 for his city, which was described in 1883 as:

> Formerly a busy, thriving place . . . A large furnace and foundry were built there . . . they used mostly what is known as box [*sic*] ore, a sort of deposit made by the iron springs, and is of excellent quality . . . but within the past few years, owing to the great depression in the iron trade . . . the once thriving village of Batsto is now comparatively deserted.[22]

[22]E.M. Woodward and John Hageman, *Burlington and Mercer Counties, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1883), p. 307.

Blue Grosbeak in New Jersey

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL

This is the state you visit at your whim,
Not by the season but the century.
Great Audubon observed you; you saw him,
And now you bend that scrutiny on me.
That was in Salem, eighteen twenty-nine,
And even he, thus oddly looked upon,
Must have felt awful wonder such as mine.

Did he, who knew both bird and quadruped,
See a resemblance in your moveless posture,
As if a horse at leisure turned its head
And gazed its fill upon some other creature?
But you, in your incalculable course,
A circuit lawyer never overdue,
Use other sight, a surface glaze, obtuse.

What is the case, held over, you would settle?
Why do you cross this border—to do battle,
Or try for truce with the opposing eye?
Both beheld wonder, you and Audubon,
The man grown mythical you looked upon,
And as you stare at me and I at you,
I share the strangeness he could not construe.

The Writer, a well-known poet, editor and literary advisor, is a resident of New Jersey. She is a Fellow of the Academy of American Poets and numbers among her honors a 1959 award from the Longview Foundation.

In the Annual Report of the New Jersey State Museum for 1908 appears the following entry, under the heading *Guiraca caerulea, BLUE GROSBEAK:*

"Audubon describes in detail a nest with young which he found near Camden in the summer of 1829, and which appears in the plate of this species in his *Birds of America.*"

The report adds that the blue grosbeak has also been seen at Morristown and near Snake Hill, and that "these meagre records constitute all that we know of the bird in New Jersey."

Miss Nicholl's encounter (Scotch Plains, 1946) may be called, therefore, a chapter of history as well as the inspiration of a poem.

Paramus in the War of the Revolution

JARED C. LOBDELL

THE Ramapo Mountains run from Pompton, in Passaic County, north to Haverstraw in New York, setting off the highlands of northwestern New Jersey from the rest of the state. To the east and south, from Pluckemin to Sicomac, runs the double range of the Watchung Mountains, guarding Morristown against attack from Manhattan. The area between the two ranges is occupied by Preakness and Packanack Mountains. There is a gap between the Ramapos and Packanack Mountain at Pompton, one in the Watchungs at Paterson, and a clove in the Ramapos near the present town of Suffern, New York.[1]

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the principal north-south post road to the west of the Hudson ran from Hoboken, through Ringwood, to Goshen, New York.[2] At Paramus, some miles east of the mountains, this was joined by a road running southwest from Haverstraw, and by a secondary road north from Totowa Falls (Paterson).[3] By virtue of its position at the junction of these three roads, Paramus gained an importance it did not have before and has not had since.

In November 1776, the New York Committee of Safety established a supply depot there, despite the fact that at this time, and at least until 1780, the area was strongly Tory.[4] In October, innkeeper John Hopper had been charged with distributing handbills "very prejudicial to the interest of America"[5].

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[1]There are good contour maps of the general area, though not of Paramus, in R. H. Torrey et al., *New York Walk Book* (New York, 1923), opposite pp. 69, 85, 113.

[2]W. W. Clayton and William Nelson, *History of Bergen and Passaic Counties* (Philadelphia, 1882), pp. 240, 312. W. C. Ford ed., *General Orders Issued By Major General Israel Putnam* (Brooklyn, 1893), frontis.

[3]S. F. Hudson, *Background of Ho-Ho-Kus History* (Ho-Ho-Kus, 1953), map opposite p. 16. *Cf.* J. B. Turner ed., *Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood* (Wilmington, 1910), pp. 125-127.

[4]On the collection of supplies see *Public Papers of George Clinton: Military* (Albany, 1899-1914), pp. 406 and 434-435.

[5]Peter Force ed., *American Archives,* 5th Series, III (Washington, 1853), col. 498.

and in December the British were recruiting numbers of their Loyalist troops in the neighborhood.[6] In October 1778, two travellers who incautiously left their horses unguarded at the Paramus Church had them stolen and presumed that some of the local Tories had taken them off to the British camp at Paulus Hook.[7] A year later, General William Woodford was advising Anthony Wayne that the Paramus Road was unsafe.[8] In 1780, the Marquis de Chastellux was told that Paramus was infested by Tories and that his guide always avoided the place when he had letters to carry.[9] The Marquis's American translator adds in a footnote that quarters were constantly beat up there "and horses, men, etc., carried off."[10]

Because of the town's location, and because of its politics, it was a constant source of annoyance to the American commanders. In early December 1776 Charles Lee had a scouting party there and at Hackensack, and on the 11th, Colonel William Malcolm of the New York Militia, then at Clarkstown, planned a foray to Paramus to scatter the British recruiting gangs.[11] He was beaten to it by General William Heath, marching from Haverstraw.

On December 11th, Heath was at Haverstraw with 600 men.[12] The ill-guarded British stores at Hackensack were an attractive target and he could accomplish two purposes with the same manoeuvre. On the morning of the 13th, Colonel Joseph Vose, under Heath's orders, was at Paramus with his own regiment, the Twenty-foutr Continental, Colonel Jedediah Huntington's Seventeenth, and Colonel John Tyler's Tenth.[13] Heath was at

[6] *Ibid.*, col. 1174.

[7] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, III (Trenton, 1906), p. 580.

[8] J. W. Jordan ed., "Some Unpublished Letters of General Woodford 1776-1779" in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 460.

[9] Francois de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780-81-82* (New York, 1827), p. 57.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] G. W. Chase ed., *Diary of David How*l (Morrisania, 1865), p. 38. Force, *Archives*, 5th Series, III, col. 1174.

[12] *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 7th Series, IV (Boston, 1904), p. 42. For Heath's strength see Force, *Archives*, 5th Series, III, col. 1261.

[13] On Vose's arrival with three regiments see Force, *Archives*, 5th Series, III, col. 1219. The identity of the other two may be found in William Heath, *Memoirs* (Boston, 1798), p. 98.

Tappan on the 14th.[14] Tyler and Huntington left Paramus on the afternoon of the 14th, and that night Heath surprised the British at Hackensack, taking some sixty prisoners, a few arms, and a large quantity of stores.[15] Wagons were collected and the stores sent off under guard to Paramus, along with a drove of cattle to be "killed as soon and as fast as possible."[16]

Later on the 15th, after he received word that the British had crossed the river from Fort Washington, Heath moved back to Paramus, to guard the stores, and to protect the country around.[17] General George Clinton with 500 New York Militia joined him the night of the 16th[18], and at the same time ordered militia regiments under Colonels McClaughry and Woodhull to march there.[19] On the 19th, Washington advised Heath by letter to return to Peekskill.[20] Before the letter reached Paramus, Clinton had drawn his forces together and marched to attack the Loyalist Colonel Buskirk at Bergen Woods.[21] Heath was obliged to wait until he returned the next afternoon, following a small success. Three of some twenty-three prisoners taken in the raid were Paramus Loyalists.[22]

Alarms and Excursions

The stores were gradually sent north to the Highlands or to Peekskill, and on the morning of the 22nd Heath followed them.[23] Clinton went into winter quarters at Ramapo.[24] On the 23d he had two companies scouting at Paramus.[25] Four days later a party of Loyalists raided the area, while Clinton complained of his inability to maintain a garrison there.[26] On the

[14]Force, *loc. cit.*
[15]*Ibid.*, col. 1234, and Heath, *Memoirs*, pp. 99-100.
[16]Force, *Archives*, 5th Series, III, col. 1235.
[17]*Ibid.*, col. 1261, and *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 7th Series, IV, p. 44.
[18]Force, *Archives*, loc. cit.
[19]*Clinton Papers*, I, p. 469.
[20]Force, *Archives*, 5th Series, III, col. 1299.
[21]*Clinton Papers*. I. pp. 472, 477-478. *Cf.* Heath, *Memoirs*, p. 102.
[22]*Clinton Papers*, I, pp. 478, 483-484.
[23]Force, *Archives*, 5th Series, III, cols. 1344, 1347.
[24]*Ibid.*, col. 1347.
[25]*Clinton Papers*, I, pp. 488, 490.
[26]*Ibid.*, pp. 496, 505.

28th and 29th he again had scouting parties out, and McClaughry's regiment was there briefly in January.[27] On the 6th of January, Clinton marched from Ramapo to attack the British at Hackensack, but he learned on the 7th that they had evacuated the town, and he halted at Paramus.[28] He was there again with McClaughry on the 13th.[29]

Despite Clinton's activity, supplies were flowing from Paramus to the British army. In February 1777, Washington directed him "to send a party of men from his Corps, to cover that part of the country, and to stop any further practices of that kind."[30] Even so, in May there were only about seventy men from Colnel Nathaniel Heard's New Jersey Militia at the camp.[31] Loyalist Colonel Joseph Barton, with about 300 men, marched from Bergen on the afternoon of May 12th to surprise the militia and capture whatever stores were there.[32] The morning of the 13th was foggy, and the officer in charge of the militia got wind of the attack before Barton came up. He moved his men out, blundered into the approaching Tories, and gave them slightly better than he got. Barton retreated.[33] It was not precisely an earth-shaking battle, but it successfully asserted American control over the area.

On May 27th, the post was taken by a new militia detachment sent down from Pompton.[34] They occupied themselves with sending scouts toward Hackensack ad Bergen and disarming the neighboring Tories. When the British sent a Loyalist force up to Hackensack on June 10th, the militia marched there and back in the rain without accomplishing anything. On the 15th, a party of thirty men was sent down toward what is now the city of Englewood, surprised there by the Loyalists, and forced to

[27]*Ibid.*, pp. 508, 546.
[28]*Ibid.*, pp. 533-534, 537.
[29]*Ibid.*, p. 545.
[30]J. C. Fitzpatrick ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), VII, p. 179.
[31]*Ibid.*, VIII, p. 72.
[32]*New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, I (Trenton, 1901), pp. 378-379.
[33]This account is based on Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, VIII, p. 72, and *New Jersey Archives*, loc. cit.
[34]Joseph Clark, "Diary", in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 1st Series, VII (Newark, 1855), p. 95.

beat a hasty retreat. On the 16th, Heard recalled the force to Pompton.[35] A good idea of their general effectiveness, or else of their honesty, may be gathered from the fact that four hundred pounds of tea were stolen from Paramus while they were there in June.[36]

The same day the militia were recalled, Colonel Barton marched upcountry "without the least opposition."[37] He came up with the retreating American rearguard, but avoided provoking them to make a stand. It cannot be said that the Colonel was in any way rash.

In July 1777, Washington was sufficiently confident of American control in the area to order Lord Stirling to march through Paramus on his way from Peekskill to Bound Brook.[38] The Continental troops camped there on the night of July 29th-30th.[39]

In September, while Washington was manoeuvring along the Brandywine, Lieutenant-Colonel Aaron Burr was at Suffern, in temporary command of Malcolm's regiment. On the 10th, three detachments from the British force around Manahattan marched on Hackensack, and Burr went south to meet them.[40] At Paramus he found some local militia in extreme disorder, and rallied them in case the British should evade him and come north. They did not. Burr surprised and defeated them in a night attack, and then sent off an express to reassure the commander of the militia.[41] For a while thereafter the British seem to have avoided Paramus, which, considering the quality of the militia, was probably a good thing.

With the American army encamped at Valley Forge, eastern New Jersey was of little imporance. But in July 1778, after Monmouth, the theatre of war shifted back to the Hudson. From the

[35]*Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

[36]*Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey from 1776 to 1786* (Trenton, 1848), p. 69.

[37]*New Jersey Archives,* 2d Series, I, p. 398.

[38]Fitzpatrick, *Writings,* VIII, p. 487.

[39]Turner, *Journal of Captain Robert Kirkwood* (Wilmington, 1910), pp. 126-127.

[40]Matthew Davis, *Memoirs of Aaron Burr* (New York, 1836), I, pp. 115-116. On the date see *New Jersey Archives,* 2d Series, I, p. 473, and W. H. W. Sabine ed., *The New York Diary of Lieutenant Jabez Fitch* (New York, 1954), p. 215.

[41]Davis, *Memoirs,* loc. cit.

10th to the 14th, the army passed slowly through Paramus, on its way north to Haverstraw, and thence to White Plains.[42]

In September, the British were once again sending out parties toward Hackensack, and a force of New Jersey Militia under General William Winds, or from his Brigade, was encamped at Paramus from the 22nd to the 27th.[43] From the 22nd to the 25th Colonel George Baylor's Dragoons were there as well, but Baylor feared a British surprise if he stayed too long in the same place, and late on the 25th he marched north to Harrington, near Tappan.[44] The next morning, about sunrise, he was taken unawares and captured, and his force massacred. Some twelve or thirteen men escaped and fled to Paramus.[45]

Major Pell, in command there, sent off a party to rescue what remained of Baylor's forces. Then, too weak to remain in an unfortified position, he sent off his sick, and what stores he had, to Pompton, and moved away, "to elude the treachery of the inhabitants."[46] Except for two weeks in October, when some of General Woodford's men, and Hathorn's New York Militia, were there, the post remained defenceless until December.[47]

At that time, Greene called Washington's attention to the gap this left in American communications to the eastward.[48] On December 4th, Colonel Thomas Clark was ordered to move his North Carolina Brigade to winter quarters at Paramus.[49] The same day, the British sailed up the Hudson to Stony Point in an attempt to prevent the American crossing that had taken place two days before.[50] In the resulting alarm, Wayne's Pennsylvania troops were halted at Paramus from the 4th to the 9th.[51] On the 6th Washington arrived from Elizabeth to supervise affairs

[42]Fitzpatrick, *Writings,* XII, pp. 165-182, *passim.*

[43]Clark, "Diary", p. 108.

[44]Jared Sparks ed., *Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1853), II, pp. 211, 222-223.

[45]*Ibid.,* p. 211.

[46] Ibid., p. 212.

[47]Clark, "Diary", p. 109, and Jordan, "Letters of General Woodford", p. 461. *Clinton Papers,* IV, pp. 271-272.

[48]Fitzpatrick, *Writings,* XIII, p. 362.

[49]*Ibid.,* p. 376.

[50]H. M. Lydenberg ed., *Archibald Robertson: His Diaries and Sketches in America* (New York, 1930), p. 186.

[51]*Pennsylvania Archives,* 2d Series, XI (Harrisburg, 1880), pp. 388-390.

in person. He returned on the 7th.[52] On the 21st Clark had not yet taken his quarters, and he was again ordered to do so, "to cover the communication to King's Ferry, to afford countenance and protection to the well affected inhabitants of Bergen County, and to be within supporting distance of the posts in the Highlands."[53] When Clark did take up his quarters, it marked the first time that Paramus could be considered a permanent post, and the location of the entrenchments is a problem of some interest.

Weakened Defences

In December 1776, Lee's scouting party camped in the church, Clinton's men in the houses at Hopperstown (present-day Ho-Ho-Kus).[54] The next summer, the soldiers were given straw to sleep on, and pitched tents.[55] In 1778, the Massachusetts men pitched theirs "in a field near the meeting house," that is, the church.[56] The Commander-in-Chief's Guard camped at "Head Quarters two miles from Primmiss Church."[57] Headquarters were at Mrs. Prevost's Hermitage, and it is safe to assume that the Guard camped in the valley below. At this time the church was being used for the trial of General Charles Lee.[58]

It appears that when entrenchments were dug, the camp was located where the Guard had been in the summer. In August 1779, Henry Lee's force was at Paramus, "two miles on the road from the Church to Kakiat Meeting House."[59] At that time there was a small brook (now closed over) in the fields south of the Hermitage. It is noteworthy in this connection that, as late

[52]Fitzpatrick, *Writings,* XIII, p. 371.

[53]*Ibid.,* p. 445.

[54]Chase, *Diary of David How,* p. 38. *Clinton Papers,* I, p. 515.

[55]Turner, *Journal of Robert Kirkwood,* pp. 126-127.

[56]*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* 2d Series, VI (Boston, 1891), p. 111.

[57]Diary printed in C. E. Godfrey, *The Commander-in-Chief's Guard* (Washington, 1904), p. 281.

[58]Fitzpatrick, *Writings,* XII, p. 162, and *Collections of the New-York Historical Society,* VI (New York, 1874), pp. 30-89, *passim.*

[59]Letter in G. H. Farrier ed., *Memorial of the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Paulus Hook* (Jersey City, 1879), p. 42 n.

as 1780, the church and churchyard remained unfortified.[60] This, of course, would be unlikely in the extreme if the permanent camp had been situated there.

In any event, Clark had somewhat over 1,000 men at Paramus that winter, a good indication of the importance Washington attached to the post.[61] In February 1779, the British on Staten Island appeared to be in motion toward New Jersey, and Clark was warned to be on the lookout.[62] On March 1st, Washington instructed General William Maxwell to make sure that communications were kept open between Newark and Paramus, to hinder the enemy "from effecting any thing, by surprize."[63] On the 14th, it became necessary to weaken the post in order to strengthen those in the Highlands.[64] Even so, the defences remained well-garrisoned at least through April.[65]

In May, the British in New York planned a raid on Paramus. The Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Regiments marched from Fort Lee toward Hackensack on the morning of the 18th, intending to support a force of several hundred Regulars under Captain Ferguson, who were supposed to have landed above King's Bridge. But Ferguson's detachment separated in their boats while crossing the river on the night of the 17th, and the whole affair miscarried.[66]

The post seems to have been occupied throughout the summer, it being a time of little military activity. Two days in August were wholly given up to the apprehension of one suspected Loyalist.[67] But Anthony Wayne's exploit at Stony Point in July apparently inspired Harry Lee at Paramus to emulate him, and on the morning of August 18th, Lee marched toward

[60]R. A. Livington et al., *The Old Paramus Church* (Ridgewood, 1957), p. 6.

[61]"The Strength of Several Departments April 1779" in the Nathanael Greene Papers, XII, p. 58. Quoted in Peter Angelakos, "The Army at Middlebrook" in *Proc. N.J. Hist. Soc.*, LXX (Newark, 1952), p. 100.

[62]Fitzpatrick, *Wrtings*, XIV. p. 119.

[63]*Ibid.*, p. 168.

[64]*Ibid.*, p. 236.

[65]See note 61 above.

[66]*Coll. N.Y. Hist. Soc.*, XVI (New York, 1884), pp. 177-178.

[67]Diary in W. H. Richardson and W. P. Gardner, *Washington and "The Enterprise Against Powles Hook"* (Jersey City, 1938), p. 36.

Paulus Hook.[68] He returned to camp on the 21st, after a brilliant, but not particularly useful, success.[69] His troops remained there until the middle of September, when they were transferred to Monmouth, and replaced by the Fourth Dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel William Augustine Washington.[70]

In October, the Commander-in-Chief had occasion to reprimand Lord Stirling for concentrating too much of his force at Paramus.[71] It was not, after all, a position of natural strength, nor did it have any particular value, except as a guardpost for American communications. That value it retained. Woodford at Kakiat (West New Hempstead) in New York had a troop of horse there late in October, while sending out foraging parties.[72] On October 27th, the Virginia Division and the Light Infantry marched there from Kakiat, to move thereafter as circumstances might require.[73] At the same time, and into November, Wayne's Pennsylvanians were stationed there.[74]

When Washington again went into winter quarters behind the Watchungs, Clark's North Carolina Brigade was ordered to resume its former camp.[75] The order was subsequently countermanded, and Clark sent to the Carolinas.[76] Three days before Christmas, Lieutenant-Colonel William De Hart, with a detachment of the Second New Jersey, took up quarters there.[77] On the 14th of January, 1780, he moved out again to Newark with 250 men.[78]

The conduct of the troops that winter was not especially good. On February 22nd, two soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line were sentenced to death "for Plundering Mr. Bogart an Inhabitant near Parrammas."[79] They remained in confinement until May

[68]Farrier, *Memorial*, p. 72.
[69]*New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, III (Trenton, 1906), p. 628.
[70]Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XVI, p. 279 n.
[71]*Ibid.*, p. 430.
[72]Jordan, "Letters of General Woodford", p. 460.
[73]Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XVII, p. 33.
[74]Jordan, "Letters of General Woodford", p. 462, and *New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, IV (Trenton, 1914), p. 19.
[75]Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XVII, pp. 111 n. and 201.
[76]*Ibid.*, p. 135.
[77]*Ibid.*, p. 301.
[78]*Ibid.*, p. 389.
[79]Almon Lauber ed., *Orderly Book of the Fourth New York Regiment* (Albany, 1932), p. 285.

9th, when they were pardoned.[80] On February 25th, another soldier was tried for stealing a piece of brown linen from one of the inhabitants, and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes and to make good the theft.[81] There was nothing particularly unusual about this behavior. Clinton had trouble with his men in the winter of 1776-1777, and it is doubtful whether there was any time when some pilfering did not go on.[82]

In March a subaltern from the Jersey Brigade at Morristown was sent to relieve Ensign James Rodgers of the Third New Jersey at Paramus.[83] At this time the post was only thinly occupied by detachments from the main army. On March 23rd the British attempted to take advantage of its weakness.

The British Attack

The night of the 22nd, two parties of 300 men each crossed the Hudson, one from the Brigade of Guards under Lieutenant-Colonel Howard landing at Closter Dock, the other from the Black Watch under Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson landing at Weehawken. They were to converge upon the fortifications at Paramus, Macpherson from the south by way of Hackensack, Howard from the north coming through Wierimus. Howard arrived two hours after sunrise, and found no sign of Macpherson. He surprised and drove in the American pickets, capturing several stand of arms. Major Christopher Stuart of the Fifth Pennsylvania, in command of the garrison, rallied the main body by the church, but after a few minutes they retreated down the road where Macpherson should have been.[84]

The Black Watch had run into unexpectedly strong resistance at Hackensack, and then spent valuable time in wanton destruction. They arrived at Paramus just too late to trap most of the

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 344.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 273.
[82] *Clinton Papers*, I, pp. 530-531.
[83] Lauber, *Orderly Book*, p. 281.
[84] This account is derived from *New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, IV, p. 253. On Stuart's command see Bernhard Uhlendorf ed., *Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals 1776-1784 of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces* (New Brunswick, 1957), p. 346 and n.

retreating Continentals.[85] The country was now alarmed, and the British commanders determined to fall back through Hackensack to New York.[86] Sixty-two prisoners had been taken, five of them negroes, most of them citizens of Hackensack.[87] Of the British force, one man was killed, a number wounded, and between ten and twenty captured, mostly on the return march.[88] That the force at Paramus was surprised there can be no doubt. When the British came up, some of the troops took refuge in the house belonging to Garret Hopper, and a traveler, staying at the house, did not even have time to put his coat on or take up his pistols before the firing began. Months later he was advertising for the contents of his saddle-bags, carried off when his horse bolted.[89] By the delay at Hackensack, the British had forfeited the opportunity for complete success. But they had done well enough to alarm the American commander in the Highlands, and they were soon to try again.[90]

On April 4th, Major Thomas Byles of the Third Pennsylvania was ordered to take command at Paramus.[91] On the 9th, when all other parties on extra service were called in, the detachment under him remained at its post.[92] On April 16th, the British attacked.

On the night of the 15th, Saturday, a force of 120 cavalry and 312 infantry, the whole under the command of Major Du Buy, crossed from Manhattan to Bergen and Fort Lee. Cavalry and infantry joined at Englewood and marched north, arriving at Hackensack some time between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 16th. There they fell in with an American patrol, capturing an officer and three men. The rest bolted, with no apparent thought of warning the American detachments to the north.[93]

[85] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, IV, pp. 253 and 276.
[86] Uhlendorf, *Revolution in America*, p. 346.
[87] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, IV, p. 252.
[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 254 and 277.
[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 517-518.
[90] *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., 7th Series*, V (Boston, 1905) for the reactions of Major-General Robert Howe.
[91] Lauber, *Orderly Book*, p. 304.
[92] Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XVIII, p. 240.
[93] There are local traditions to the contrary (see Hudson, *Background*, pp. 48, 52), but these, if they are genuine, must refer to one of the Loyalist attacks early in the war.

A little after daybreak, Du Buy's men came within sight of the church, to find that "the rebels had withdrawn to Hopperstown."[94] A little farther down the road, where Maple Avenue now crosses the Ho-Ho-Kus Brook, the British surprised and captured the foremost American picket.[95] Being unwilling to give the Americans a chance to form, Du Buy sent the cavalry on ahead.

Byles had the advantage of a fortified position, manned by about 200 men against the 120 cavalry.[96] But even before the infantry came up, the defenders were in disorder, and some had fled. The Major and two lieutenants elected to defend themselves in one of the houses near by, to no avail. At the same time that Byles was trying to rally his men, they were laying down their arms and calling for quarter. When at length he attempted to surrender, he fell mortally wounded in the act. With his death resistance ceased.

The British then burned the American stores, along with the mill and two houses in which the defenders had resisted.[97] This done, they began their retreat, taking with them some fifty prisoners. Portions of the American detachment rallied and hung on their rear, snapping up wagons and horses that fell behind, but not materially impeding the march. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, the British embarked from Fort Lee.[98]

All told, they had lost three cavalry killed and eight wounded, four infantry killed and twenty-three wounded, four wagons, and a number of horses.[99] American casualties were estimated by the British at forty men killed and ten wounded, one officer killed and two wounded, in addition to the fifty prisoners.[100] Presumably this number included the men taken at Hackensack.

[94]*New Jersey Archives,* 2d Series, IV, pp. 306-307, from which this account is drawn.

[95]The account in *New Jersey Archives,* loc. cit., says Saddle Creek. It is geographically impossible for this to be anything but the Ho-Ho-Kus Brook.

[96]The number of Continental troops, and the details in the rest of the paragraph, are taken from a letter in *Pennsylvania Archives,* 2d Series, X (Harrisburg, 1880), pp. 445-446.

[97]Letter of Captain Jonathan Hallett in Fitzpatrick, *Writings,* XVIII, p. 271 n.

[98]*New Jersey Archives,* 2d Series, IV, p. 307.

[99]*Ibid.,* p. 308, and *Pennsylvania Archives,* loc. cit.

The operation, while an apparent success, was of little or no practical value. The Continental troops remained at Paramus for the rest of the month, being inspected in the Grand Parade on April 28th; and at least some force from the Second Pennsylvania was there in May.[101]

A Lesson in Futility

On June 4th, Major Jeremiah Talbot's Sixth Pennsylvania was ordered to patrol the area from Paramus to Kakiat, Washington having received information "of the enemy's having some enterprize in contemplation, and the party at Peramus supposed to be the object."[102] Nothing happened, and the troops returned to camp at Springfield a few days later.[103] On June 28th, Harry Lee was at the post, planning a sudden descent on the enemy in Bergen Woods, which "would give peace to the inhabitants for twenty miles around, and very much assist agriculture."[104] Also, it would enable him to collect forage for his horses.[105] But Lee had only fifty infantry to support his Dragoons, and he needed more. He could not get them, and the plan was never carried out.

At the end of July, the Army passed through the town once more, on its way north to King's Ferry.[106] It was bad marching, and "the men were exceedingly affected with heat and fatigue."[107] On the 30th, Washington had an estimated 900 wagons and 6,000 men at Paramus and Hopperstown.[108] In August, with the Army spread out in the Highlands, the post at Paramus was occupied by a substantial force, large enough to require the services of Forage-Master and Auditor.[109] The road

[100]*New Jersey Archives,* loc. cit.

[101]Fitzpatrick, Writings, XVIII, pp. 305-306. *Pennsylvania Archives,* 2d Series, X, p. 400.

[102]Fitzpatrick, *Writings,* XVIII, p. 474.

[103]*Ibid.,* p. 492.

[104]Sparks, *Correspondence,* III, p. 9.

[105]*Ibid.*

[106]Fitzpatrick, *Writings,* XIX, pp. 277, 279.

[107]James Thacher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1823), p. 246.

[108]Uhlendorf, *Revolution in America,* p. 361.

[109]Lauber, *Orderly Book,* p. 480.

from Totowa Falls, through Paramus, to Haverstraw was now a part of Washington's main line of communications with the American forces in the South.[110]

At the end of August, British information placed Washington between Hackensack and Hopperstown with 8,000 men.[111] There was sickness in the camp in September, and on the 9th General Poor died there.[112] In the early part of the year there had not been so much as a single surgeon at Paramus, and Washington had been forced to send one after the attack on March 23rd.[113] Now the Apothecary-General of the Army had his headquarters near the church.[114]

The roads in the area had deteriorated badly, and travel became increasingly difficult. In early September, Washington, in camp along the Hackensack, directed that a sergeant, a corporal, and twelve privates be sent to repair the road from his headquarters to Paramus.[115] In October, half the pioneers and a company of artificers were detached to work on the road north from Totowa.[116]

In the latter part of September, Washington moved the Army north towards West Point. In October, after Arnold's treason, he marched south again, camping at Paramus on the 7th and 8th.[117] It was a peculiarly miserable time. The men "had a cold, wet, and tedious march" over "amazing bad roads," and there was not a drop of rum to be had.[118] For a day the troops were confined to their tents, cleaning themselves, their clothes, and their arms.[119] The next day was devoted to drying the ammunition, and to seeing that those soldiers who had not washed their clothes did so.[120]

[110]Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XIX, p. 401.

[111]Uhlendorf, *Revolution in America*, p. 369. See also *New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, IV, pp. 587, 634.

[112]Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 253.

[113]Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XVIII, p. 162.

[114]Lauber, *Orderly Book*, p. 508.

[115]Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XX, p. 11.

[116]*Ibid.*, p. 140.

[117]*Ibid.*, p. 133.

[118]*Ibid.* For the remark on roads, see W. Ellis ed., "Diary of William Pennington" in *Proc. N.J. Hist. Soc.*, New Series, LXIII (Newark, 1945), p. 216.

[119]*Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Series, XI, p. 601.

[120]*Ibid.*

On the 8th, Washington moved his headquarters south to Totowa Falls.[121] The Army followed slowly, and portions of it were still in camp on the 10th.[122] In November, Lafayette was at Paramus with a scouting party, including, for some reason, men from the Second Artillery.[123] The weather was clear, and Manhattan was visible from the hills near the post.[124]

In the winter of 1780-1781, with the Army cantoned from Morristown to Westchester, the crossroads at Paramus was no longer a vulnerable point, and there is no evidence that the camp was occupied at that time. Even during the spring and summer of 1781, when first Lafayette and then Wayne went south, the route through Paramus was still considered safe from Tory or British incursion.[125]

On August 25th, 1781, the Army marched from King's Ferry toward the falls, on its way to Virginia. The left column, under Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, halted at the old camp south of the Hermitage.[126] That fall, General Heath had scouting parties north of Paramus, and the New York troops camped in the area the winter of 1781-1782, though it is not known whether they used the Paramus entrenchments.[127] By that time, the war in the North was over.

It remains to determine precisely why the British and Loyalist raids had so little effect. In all three of them the Americans were outnumbered, and in at least two they were surprised, but in no case was anything permanent accomplished. The difficulty seems to be that the British planned the raids merely to encompass the defeat of a specific American detachment, and possibly to discourage the local residents, not with any idea of seizing the post and disrupting communications. Only in the attack of March 23, 1780, were letters of any consequence intercepted,

[121]Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XX, p. 136.

[122]*New Jersey Archives*, 2d Series, V (Trenton, 1917), p. 93.

[123]Ellis, "Diary of William Pennington" in *Proc. N.J. Hist. Soc.*, LXIV (Newark, 1946), p. 32.

[124]*Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of General Lafayette* (New York, 1837), I, p. 365.

[125]Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XXII, p. 465.

[126]*Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 42.

[127]*Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 7th Series, V., pp. 272, 275, 319.

and that was merely accidental.[128] As a result, the roads remained open, and it is indicative of British miscalculation that the residents who were not Tories joined in the fighting.[129]

The town suffered severely from the war. In 1776, Ebenezer Huntington wrote that "we live happy—Good living and in the best Country in the World."[130] Two years later, James Thacher found "a peculiar neatness in the appearance of the dwellings."[131] By the end of the war, quite apart from the buildings that were burnt, the church itself had fallen into such disrepair that it had to be torn down and a new one built.[132] On the whole, the history of Paramus in the war is a lesson in the futility of the local militia on both sides, in the difficulty of guarding against surprise in what amounted to hostile territory, in the destructiveness of guerrilla warfare, and in the folly of fighting with no clear strategic objective in mind.

[128]*Clinton Papers,* V, p. 644.
[129]*New Jersey Archives,* 2d Series, IV, p. 324.
[130]"Letters Written by Ebenezer Huntington" in *American Historical Review,* V (Washington, 1900), p. 718.
[131]Thacher, *Military Journal,* p. 187.
[132]Livingston, *The Old Paramus Church,* pp. 8-9.

Henry Inman in New Jersey

WILLIAM H. GERDTS

Although there was considerable artistic activity in New Jersey during the nineteenth century, and two of the major cultural centers in the United States were close at hand, it cannot be said that great numbers of the major American painters and sculptors lived in the State. Perhaps more than anything else, New Jersey gained artistic importance from its role as host to visiting artists—the landscape painters who came to paint its hills and rolling country, its beaches and its seacoast, and the portraitists who in their travels north and south depicted prominent citizens of the early New Jersey communities through which they passed.

The leading artists who did maintain residences in the State were, perhaps naturally enough, mostly landscape painters. Asher B. Durand and George Inness were among those who had permanent homes in the State; Jasper Cropsey and others maintained summer studios. Of the portraitists who lived here, undoubtedly the most important in the history of American art were Henry Inman and Charles Loring Elliott.

Henry Inman (1801-1846) is best known as the principal and most successful New York portrait painter of his day, holding the same position in that community that Thomas Sully, his contemporary, held in Philadelphia. Inman was also the first successful genre painter in America, a landscapist of note and, early in his career, a fine miniaturist. He was one of the first artists connected with the new graphic technique of lithography, which was introduced into America in the mid-1820's.

The Writer is curator of Painting and Sculpture at the Newark Museum.

Inman was born in Utica, New York, but came with his family to New York City in his early 'teens. He was apprenticed to John Wesley Jarvis, the most outstanding portraitist in New York in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Inman's first accomplishment at the end of his apprenticeship was in the field of miniature painting, but he soon gained a reputation for oil portraiture, and early (1826) assumed a position of importance among prominent American artists as one of the founders and the first Vice-President of the National Academy of Design. In the later years of that same decade he increased his growing fame by his connection with *The Talisman,* the leading gift book annual published in New York, which brought together some of the principal literary and artistic talents in the United States.

First New Jersey Visit

During the 1820's, then, Inman's associations were almost completely with New York City. He did make occasional trips into upper New York State, visiting various cities, including Albany and his native Utica. He also made a trip to Newport, Rhode Island, a visit commemorated by a self-portrait drawing, now in the collection of the New Jersey Historical Society. It is inscribed with Inman's signature, and the date and place in which the work was drawn. Another drawing, now in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, bears witness to the first known visit made by Inman to New Jersey. This is a pencil sketch *(Frontispiece),* inscribed "Paterson, July 25th, 1828." The picture depicts an artist, undoubtedly Inman himself, seated on a rock and sketching, his back to the spectator. The drawing is rapidly done in a sketchy yet sure technique, typical of Inman, and has several landscape elements, including a well-defined rock and tree to the right. A sense of air and atmosphere is given by two birds in the sky. Character is given by the posture, the subject being small, and intent upon his sketching, yet suggesting an air of leisure. Not a large drawing (6¼" x 8½"), it was acquired by the Society in 1926.

Although no other evidence has so far come to light concerning Inman's visit to Paterson, it is reasonable to assume that he

crossed the Hudson and came to this city for the same reason so many other early nineteenth-century American artists did: primarily to see and to paint the falls of the Passaic. One may hope, therefore, that an Inman painting of this subject will yet appear. Most of Inman's recorded landscapes, with the exception of several he did later in his life, have disappeared, and the total number of them must not have been very great. Some of the missing ones are known through early engravings, and these suggest that a combination of idyllic charm and dramatic sense characterized the artist's landscape style, bringing it perhaps closer to the work of the early landscapist Thomas Doughty than to that of either Asher B. Durand or Thomas Cole. In any case, it is of some interest to speculate as to how Inman would have painted New Jersey's greatest natural wonder of the day.

Undoubtedly Inman passed through New Jersey during this period and earlier, on trips to Philadelphia and to southern communities. At such times he must have been impressed by the charm of the New Jersey countryside, for in the year 1832 he moved to Mount Holly, the only early artist, so far as I have been able to discover, to be associated with that attractive community. A number of reasons led him to move from the busy New York environment to the peaceful quiet of a rural New Jersey town. One of these was the change he had made the previous year in centering his artistic activity upon Philadelphia rather than New York. In 1831 he moved to Philadelphia in order to enter into a partnership with Colonel Cephas Childs in the establishment of a lithographic firm. The art of lithography was a very new one, and Childs had been one of the first figures associated with it. John B. Pendleton had prospered in introducing lithography to Boston, and Childs aimed at a similar success in Philadelphia. Inman and Childs had had contact in previous years when Childs was practising the art of engraving, and to add prestige to his project, Childs invited Inman to join him in the firm of Childs and Inman, Lithographers. Inman himself did very few lithographs, but many of his oil portraits were lithographed by Albert Newsam and others in the firm's establishment. The real inducement for Inman was the promise of

Plate 1. Self Portrait in a Top Hat. Painting by Henry Inman. *(Owned by The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Pa.)*

Plate 2. Portrait of Bishop George Washington Doane. Painting by Henry Inman. *(Owned by Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.)*

Plate 3. Portrait of the Children of Bishop Doane. Painting by Henry Inman. *(Published courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, N. J.)*

numerous commissions in oil, which he knew that Childs could procure for him.

Inman was remarkably successful in Philadelphia, duplicating the accomplishments of his earlier New York days, and offering a real challenge to Thomas Sully for leadership in portraiture. One of the first commissions that Childs obtained for Inman was the full-length portrait of William Penn, now in Independence Hall, a commission which Sully had greatly desired. Another notable commission of Inman's Philadelphia period is his magnificent portrait of John Marshall, now in the Law Library in Philadelphia.

Sterling Farms

Nevertheless, Inman was not content to make the city itself his home, and on February 11, 1832, he purchased 105 acres of land at Mount Holly for $5,000. The land was between the road from Mt. Holly to Rancocas and the road from Mt. Holly to Burlington, almost within town limits. The property had previously been owned by John W. Sterling; he sold it in 1829 to Joseph Sheppard of Mt. Holly, who in turn sold it to Inman. Henry T. Tuckerman, in his *Book of the Artists,* summarizes Inman's reasons for the move as his love of the outdoors. His ". . . circumstances and traits combined to make him a lover of the country where, in the height of his metropolitan success, he determined to make his home; and took up his abode at a beautiful rural estate at Mount Holly, New Jersey . . . Inman's studio had long been the rendezvous for the eminent and gifted in the hand; he enjoyed his trout fishing, his sketching from nature, the birds, flowers and domestic pleasures of his rural home . . ." Another reason for Inman's wish to live in the country was undoubtedly the severe epidemics of cholera which were prevalent at this time in the United States, particularly in the major cities; these, as the artist's letters indicate, were a very real worry to him.

Among the portraits painted by Inman at Mount Holly was that of his friend, the Philadelphian, James McMurtrie. A letter by the artist to McMurtrie, owned now by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, bears witness not only to the painting,

but also to the mode of travel — doubtless used many times by Inman— between Philadelphia and Mount Holly. Inman wrote to McMurtrie on August 15th, 1832:

I recd. yours of last evening and hasten to tell you that I shall be proud of an opportunity to oblige you in the matter of the 'leetle Piktur.' As to the *'con-sid-e-ra-tion'* I will thus ordain; that the execution of the 'Piktur' shall extinguish a certain debt of $10, I owe you, and in addition you may give me, in any matters of Art, you are disposed to part with, a like sum of $10—.

We shall be right happy to see you at our 'Jersey' shantee, and I will suggest the following mode of getting here. You will get this tomorrow afternoon 16th. Yr. best plan will be to take the next morning steam boat, (17th) for Burlington, which leaves I believe at 6 A.M. In two hours you will reach Burlington, where you will find yr. humble servant with a vehicle which will convey you, to my house in ½ an hour. At ½ past 1, the same day the Stage passes my door, for Burlington to take the return Boat.

If however I should be able to get through with one sitting, we will be most happy to keep you with us until the next morning when you can take the early stage.

So come with 'yr. lady,' in your hand.

This portrait, and the companion picture of Mrs. McMurtrie, the former Rebecca Mifflin Harrison, were formerly owned in Philadelphia and recently were in a private collection in Metairie, Louisiana. They are small pictures (12″ x 10″), both very attractive and somewhat idealized. The portrait of Mrs. McMurtrie is one of Inman's very rare profile portraits. Although there is no documentation that her portrait was also painted in Mount Holly, there is every reason to believe it was done in the same manner as that of her husband. It is even possible that both pictures were painted by Inman on the McMurtries' visit on August 17, 1832. A copy exists of the portrait of Mr. McMurtrie.

Sterling Farms was, to Inman, a rural retreat and actually very little of his painting was done there. Perhaps the most famous picture that he created at his home was the "Self Portrait in a Top Hat" *(Plate 1)*. John Sartain, in his *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man,* speaks of the work as follows:

It was here that he painted the small portrait of himself, half his face shaded by the brim of a straw hat, which is now the property of the

Pennsylvania Academy. It was done at one brief sitting to show three young artists how he worked. Two of them, Debeaugh [Deveaux?] and another whose name I fail to recall, had received an invitation to visit the artist. On their way to the Camden ferry, whom should they meet but Matthew Parker, who hailed them with 'Whither away, boys?' They told him, when he promptly said he would go too. He was not of the kind to inquire if his company was agreeable, and neither of the two had the courage to try and shake him off.

When the lesson was over Inman gave them the picture, and it was decided by lot which of the three should possess it. To the vexation and mortification of the others, it was the interloper, Matthew Parker, who drew the prize.

The prize was sold, when Parker fell ill, to Mr. John Towne; Cephas Childs, Inman's former partner, owned it after Towne; on Childs' death, in 1871, it was bequeathed to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. On the back of the painting is inscribed: "Sketch of H. Inman by himself at 33, June, 1834." The painting is probably the best-known of all Inman's self-portraits and is a very beautiful piece of work, strongly painted, yet quite informal and with a general romantic personal mood enhanced by the strong shadow across the face.

The Doane Portraits

Though little is known of Inman's personal life and his friendships in New Jersey, we do know that one of his important patrons was a near neighbor. Inman had a high reputation as a portraitist for the clergy, particularly in the Episcopal Church, of which he was a member. It is not surprising, then, that he was commissioned to paint the portrait of George Washington Doane, Protestant Bishop of New Jersey, who became rector of St. Mary's Church in Burlington on October 1st, 1833. The Portrait of Doane *(Plate 2)* was painted in 1834 and exhibited in New York at the National Academy in 1835. It was given in 1858 to Union College, in Schenectady, New York, and is a handsome work, very spirited and colorful. The painting was commented upon by *The New York Mirror* on June 20, 1835, in reviewing the National Academy exhibition, as "Mr. Inman's best male portrait in the present exhibition. It would be difficult

to say more in its praise." A second version, without hands and darker, is owned by a descendant of the subject, in New Lebanon, New York. Judging by the date of the painting and the exhibition, it is probable that the Doane portrait was begun in Mt. Holly and finished on Inman's return to New York City.

That the relationship between Inman and Doane was more than merely that of artist and patron is indicated by a letter which is preserved by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, written from Doane to Inman. Although the letter is undated, it must have been written between October 1833 and October 1834, since it is addressed to Inman at Mt. Holly from St. Mary's Parsonage, and that one year is the only period when both lived in New Jersey. Doane wrote, solicitous of Inman's health and discussing a meeting between them, perhaps in reference to his portrait. The letter is signed, "Truly your friend."

One of Inman's most charming pictures is the double portrait *(Plate 3)* of the Children of Bishop Doane, recently acquired by the Newark Museum from a descendant of one of the subjects. The picture depicts George Hobart Doane on the right and William Croswell Doane on the left, and is a disarming depiction of childhood, broadly and freely painted, with a fine contrast between the characters of the two children. The faces and garments, beautifully colored, shimmer with brilliant light. The spectator looks through a stone opening at the two figures, a rich green landscape beyond, and a river running by a white Gothic Revival church, at the left. Although the landscape subject is undoubtedly a reference to Bishop Doane's ecclesiastic position and its geographic location on the banks of the Delaware, St. Mary's Church was not a Gothic structure; so the church in the picture must bear only a general, rather than a specific reference, to the Bishop.

Both of Bishop Doane's sons, named after well known American ecclesiastic figures, entered the Church. William Croswell Doane was rector of St. Mary's from 1860 to 1863 and became Bishop of Albany in 1868. George Hobart Doane was educated for the Episcopal ministry but, to the great grief of his father, became a Roman Catholic in 1855. He was a Monsignor in

Newark in the early 1900's and, as a good friend of the Newark Museum's founder, John Cotton Dana, was one of the guiding spirits in the establishment of a museum in Newark.

The Portrait of the Children of Bishop Doane is signed and dated "Inman 1835." It was therefore completed in New York City, although it is probable that it was begun in 1834 when Inman was still a neighbor of the Doane family. In 1834, also, Inman received a commission from Bishop Doane to paint a full-length portrait of Bishop White of Pennsylvania, and he wrote to Asher B. Durand, inquiring if Durand would do the engraving of the subject, for which subscriptions would be raised at $10 each. Inman quotes Doane as expressing himself thus:

"It will be very hard if a production combining the three names of White, Durand, and Inman should not succeed."

Nevertheless, Durand did not do the engraving, and it appears that the project was actually carried out by Inman several years later in conjunction with the English engraver Wagstaff and the Philadelphia art patron James McMurtrie.

New York and Hazlewood

Toward the end of 1834 Inman returned to New York City, having severed his connection with the lithographic firm (Childs took on a new partner and renamed the firm Childs and Lehman, though he and Inman remained lifelong friends). Inman sold his Mount Holly property to George Haywood on September 18th; one of the witnesses to the transaction was Charles Wesley Jarvis, Inman's pupil and the son of his former teacher, John Wesley Jarvis. Undoubtedly Inman's reason for returning to New York was to reclaim his former position as the leading portraitist of the metropolis, although Tuckerman suggests that the move was also due to pecuniary reverses which Inman had suffered. This is also suggested in a letter Inman wrote to his former pupil and partner, the miniaturist Thomas Seirs Cummings, in which he speaks of the sale of his stock, furniture and farm for the total sum of over $7500, and mentions his ability to repay his debts. He also indicates that he had to give possession of the farm by November 1st.

New York welcomed him back with great enthusiasm. *The Knickerbocker Magazine* for November 1834 called attention to his return as follows:

> Henry Inman. It is to congratulate the lovers of genius and art, rather than to laud the deserving, that we mention the establishment of this distinguished artist in our city. Mr. Inman has been part and parcel of the intellectual valuables, on the possession of which we may pride ourselves as a nation.

The New York Mirror, on October 25, 1834, wrote as follows:

> We have remarked a paragraph in some of the daily journals, which has afforded us a pleasure, that we may presume is widely shared in the city—we mean the announcement of the permanent return among us of that accomplished artist and gentleman, Henry Inman, Esq. A pencil which has won for him a prominent reputation, we are glad to learn has not been idle during his absence; and we are sure it will not be uninspired in a community where its powers are so well appreciated.

With his return to New York City, Inman's activity in and with New Jersey ceased, and he once again became part of the New York art life, to achieve still greater fame in the second half of the 1830 decade and then to decline in favor and health until his death in 1846. It was, in fact, only after his death that his contact with New Jersey was (surprisingly) renewed. Inman died on January 17th, and was buried in St. Mark's Cemetery in New York. On June 16, 1846, the remains were removed to the newly opened Greenwood Cemetery in Brooklyn. On December 10, 1860, they were removed once more to Hazlewood Cemetery, Rahway, New Jersey, and buried in the Coddington plot, the move instigated undoubtedly by his daughter, Mary Inman Coddington, the wife of Smith Coddington, of that city. This fact was noted, too, by the *Home Journal,* in which the following article appeared on April 16, 1861:

> It is fifteen years since Henry Inman, one of the most distinguished artists of this country, passed away. His funeral was marked by every token of respect; he was mourned with sincerity, and he is remembered with affection, and yet his grave has been without a suitable monument to his memory. His remains were recently removed to the beautiful Hazlewood Cemetery at Rahway, New Jersey, and a movement is about to be made to obtain, by subscription, a fitting sum to be appropriated to the

erection of a monument, inscribed with such an epitaph as his fame demands. Too long already has the mortal part of this genius been allowed to remain in obscurity, and almost unrecognized. His grave and his name have alike been suffered to fall into neglect. Let it be so no longer. As he was one of the earliest and most efficient founders of the National Academy of Design, we would suggest to the members the propriety of appropriating some portion of the proceeds of their present exhibition to the erection of the monument which his friends and admirers propose to build to his talents and his lifetime; and it would be a disgrace and a shame if his brother artists failed to revere and commemorate his memory.

The article is a just tribute to the painter, though the monument does not seem ever to have been created. Inman was active in New Jersey only during a short period — less than three years—, but he produced here some of his finest works; and it is fitting that one of these at least should have returned to this state, where it can be enjoyed and admired by a still appreciative public.

The Nomination of Lincoln
Chicago, May 16, 1860

As Reported by Certain of his Contemporaries

NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

We left the falls about six o'clock in the morning and after crossing the suspension bridge, enveloped in a dense cloud of mist from the cataract, we emerged into a clear, sunny atmosphere on the Canada side, and were soon thundering along at the rate of forty miles an hour, over one of the best ballasted and comfortably equipped railroads on the Continent. . . .

By two o'clock we were across the ferry, and comfortably placed in the express train of the Michigan Central road, which is also a model work of its kind. Arrangements had been made for a demonstration in the way of speed, and extraordinary precautions were taken against accidents—so that a mile a minute was a frequent rate of travel, and we flew through the little villages that dotted the route, so rapidly that they seemed almost like a continuous settlement. No stops were made except at the wood stations for fuel and water which were so rapidly supplied that they caused but little delay. On two occasions the engines themselves were changed without stopping the train! This was accomplished by disconnecting the exhausted engine at high speed and switching it off the track, leaving the train to advance to the fresh engine by its own momentum—thus the new connection was made, and we were on our course again without a stop. The villagers were out upon their houses and farms, and greeted the train with cannon, music and waving kerchiefs, as it sped past them, and at the stopping places they gathered around the cars and were addressed in short speeches by Gen. Nye, Ex-Gov. King, of N.Y., Gov. Randall, of Wisconsin, Messrs. Evarts, Geo. Blunt, and Sim. Draper of N.Y., and Mr. Wyman, of Mass.

The passengers were generally of a high order of intelligence and standing; they comprised the Boston delegation accompanied by Gilmore's Band; part of the New York delegation and Messrs. Marsh, Frelinghuysen, Denning Duer, A. C. McLean, and a few others from New Jersey.—Tom Hyer, the famous pugilist, was among the New York delegation, several of whom wore "Seward" badges. Hyer was evidently a well known character, from the manner in which the countrymen sought a glimpse of his finely developed frame; and he conducted himself with a modest amiability and simplicity, that would certainly have misled any suspicions as to his profession, and won many friends. All the usual taciturnity of travelers was sunk in sympathy with a common cause; and the journey passed off with delightful effects, till the lights of Chicago broke on our view a little after nine o'clock. We had thus made the entire run from the Falls—a distance of *over five hundred miles in just fifteen hours!* I doubt whether such a speed was ever so well maintained, with such a train, for so long a time, on this continent; and the passengers felt so much enthusiasm that they not only expressed their admiration of the line, but gave a substantial token to the engineer, who received it with well expressed emotion.

—An unnamed correspondent, issue of May 18, 1860.

JOHN INSLEY BLAIR

[May 15] Now as to the Convention. They generally arrived Monday evening. Those of N. J. all came on Monday evening, all at Richmond House. The New Jersey Delegation had as their Rendesvous double Parlours adjoining the Richmond House, access to them out of Richmond House by a doorway prepared for that purpose.

Our N. J. Delegation organized, agreed to meet every day at Nine & 4 Oclk—We appointed Committees to Confer with Delegates from other States, to advance the Choice of our Delegation for Presdt., Wm. L. Dayton of N. J. J. I. Blair, Dodly [Dudley] S. Gregory, Ephrahim Marsh, Thos. J. Dudley appointed for that Purpose—We had Conferences with the Delegations

from Pa., Ohio, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, Iowa, Wisconsin & Many other States. Our Delegation agreed to Vote Solid for Dayton, which We did the First Time: and afterwards to be governed by Circumstances. 8 of our Delegates Determined not to Vote for Seward: 6 for Seward.

—Diary of John Insley Blair of Blairstown, a member of the New Jersey delegation to the Republican National Convention of 1860 at Chicago. [The original manuscript, presented by John Insley Blair Vail, is in the possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.]

CARL SCHURZ

When the draft of the platform was read to the convention, enthusiastic applause greeted almost every sentence of it, and an impatient call for a vote followed from all parts of the vast assembly. But amid this noise arose above the heads of the multitude the venerable form of Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio. Everybody knew him as one of the veteran champions of the anti-slavery cause. He had pleaded for that cause with undaunted courage and fidelity when even in many parts of the North no one could do so without danger. It was the religion of his life. No sooner had the clamor for a vote sufficiently calmed down to let him he heard, than he expressed himself painfully surprised that the Republican platform, that solemn promulgation of its political faith to be put forth by the party of freedom, should not contain a word of recognition of the Declaration of Independence. He therefore moved to amend it by inserting in a certain place the words: "That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, 'that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,' is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions."

There are always, in such Conventions, even those that are not controlled by machine power, many persons impatient at anything that threatens to interfere with the despatch of business as proposed by the committees; and so it was at Chicago. No sooner had Mr. Giddings stopped speaking, than the tumult of voices burst forth again with a stormy clamor for an immediate vote, and, carried away by the whirlwind, the Convention, heedlessly it may well be supposed, rejected the amendment. Then Mr. Giddings, a look of distress upon his face, his white head towering above the crowd, slowly made his way toward the door of the hall. Suddenly from among the New York delegation a young man of strikingly beautiful features leaped upon a chair and demanded to be heard. The same noisy demonstration of impatience greeted him, but he would not yield. "Gentlemen!" he said in a tone of calm determination, "this is a convention of free speech, and I have been given the floor. I have but a few words to say to you, but I shall say them, if I stand here until to-morrow morning!" Another tumultuous protest of impatience, but he firmly held his ground. At last the clamor yielded to his courage, and silence fell upon the great assembly. Then his musical voice rang out like a trumpet call. Was this, he said, the party of freedom met on the border of the free prairies to advance the cause of liberty and human rights? And would the representatives of that party dare to reject the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence affirming the equality of men's rights? After a few such sentences of almost defiant appeal, he renewed, in a parliamentary form, the amendment moved by Mr. Giddings, and with an overwhelming shout of enthusiasm the convention adopted it.

When the young orator sat down his name passed from mouth to mouth. It was George William Curtis. I had never seen him before. After the adjournment of that session I went to him to thank him for what he had done. He was then in the flower of youthful manhood. As he stood there in that convention, towering over the vast multitude, his beautiful face radiant with resolute fervor, his singularly melodious voice thrilling with impassioned anxiety of purpose, one might have sen in him an

ideal, poetic embodiment of the best of that moral impulse and that lofty enthusiasm which aroused the people of the North to the decisive struggle against slavery. We became friends then and there, and we remained friends to the day of his death.

—*The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (New York: The McClure Company, 1907), vol. II, pp. 181-183.

JAMES G. BLAINE

With all the potential efforts and influences in his behalf, Mr. Seward was confronted with obstacles which were insuperable. He was seriously injured by the open defection of Horace Greeley. Not able, or even desirous, to appear on the New York delegation, Mr. Greeley sat in the convention as a representative from Oregon. The old firm of Seward, Weed, and Greeley, according to his own humorous expression, had been dissolved by the withdrawal of the junior partner; and a bitter dissension had in fact existed for six years without public knowledge. With his great influence in the agricultural regions of the country, Mr. Greeley was enabled to turn a strong current of popular feeling against the eminent senator from New York. Mr. Seward sustained further injury by the action of the States which were regarded as politically doubtful. Pennsylvania and Indiana took part against him. Henry S. Lane had just been nominated for governor of Indiana, with Oliver P. Morton—not then known beyond his State—for lieutenant-governor. It was understood that Lane would be sent to the Senate if the Republicans should carry the State, and that Morton, whose strength of character was known and appreciated at home, would become governor. Both candidates, having each a personal stake in the contest, united in declaring that the nomination of Mr. Seward meant a Democratic victory in Indiana. Andrew G. Curtin, who had been nominated for governor of Pennsylvania, gave the same testimony respecting that State; and his judgment was sustained by his faithful friend and adviser, Alexander K. McClure. Delegates from other States, where the contest was close, sympathized with the views of Pennsylvania and Indiana, and there was a rapid and formidable combination against Mr. Seward. The re-

former and his creed rarely triumph at the same time, and the fate of Mr. Seward was about to add one more illustration of this truth.

But if not Mr. Seward, who? The Blairs and Horace Greeley answered, "Edward Bates of Missouri,"—an old Whig, a lawyer of ability, a gentleman of character. Though still in vigorous life, he had sat in the convention which framed the constitution of Missouri in 1820. He had revered the Compromise of that year, and had joined the Republicans in resentment of its repeal. Ohio, in a half-hearted manner, presented Salmon P. Chase, who, with great ability and spotless fame, lacked the elements of personal popularity. Pennsylvania, with an imposing delegation, named Simon Cameron; New Jersey desired William L. Dayton; Vermont wanted Jacob Collamer; and delegates here and there suggested Judge McLean or Benjamin F. Wade. The popular candidate of 1856, John C. Fremont, had forbidden the use of his name.

Illinois had a candidate. He was held back with sound discretion, and at the opportune moment presented with great enthusiasm. Ever since the discussion with Douglas, Mr. Lincoln had occupied a prominent place before the public; but there had been little mention of his name for the Presidency. His friends at home had apparently hoped to nominate him for Vice-President on the ticket with Mr. Seward. But as the proofs of hostility to Seward multiplied, speculation was busy as to the man who could be taken in his stead. At the moment when doubts of Seward's success were most prevalent, and when excitement in regard to the nomination was deepest, the Republicans of Illinois met in State convention. It was but a few days in advance of the assembling of the National convention. By a spontaneous movement they nominated Mr. Lincoln for President . . .

Mr. Seward's support, however, after all the assaults made upon it, was still very formidable. On the first ballot he received 175½ votes, while Mr. Lincoln received but 102. Delegates to the number of 190 divided their votes between Bates, Chase, Cameron, Dayton, McLean, and Collamer. They held the balance of power, and on the second ballot it was disclosed that the mass

of them favored Mr. Lincoln as against Mr. Seward. The latter gained but nine votes, carrying his total up to 184½, while Mr. Lincoln received 181. On the third ballot, Mr. Lincoln was nominated by general consent.

It is one of the contradictions not infrequently exhibited in the movement of partisan bodies, that Mr. Seward was defeated because of his radical expressions on the slavery question, while Mr. Lincoln was chosen in spite of expressions far more radical than those of Mr. Seward. The "irrepressible conflict" announced by Mr. Seward at Rochester did not go so far as Mr. Lincoln's declaration at Springfield, that "the Union could not exist half slave, half free." Neither Mr. Seward nor Mr. Lincoln contemplated the destruction of the government, and yet thousands had been made to believe that Mr. Seward made the existence of the Union depend on the abolition of slavery. Mr. Lincoln had announced the same doctrine in advance of Mr. Seward, with a directness and bluntness which could not be found in the more polished phrase of the New York senator. Despite these facts, a large number of delegates from doubtful States—delegates who held the control of the convention—supported Mr. Lincoln, on the distinct ground that the anti-slavery sentiment which they represented was not sufficiently radical to support the author of the speech in which had been proclaimed the doctrine of an "irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery.

In a final analysis of the causes and forces which nominated Mr. Lincoln, great weight must be given to the influence which came from the place where the convention was held, and from the sympathy and pressure of the surrounding crowd. Illinois Republicans, from Cairo to the Wisconsin line, were present in uncounted thousands. The power of the mob in controlling public opinion is immeasurable. In monarchical governments it has dethroned kings, and in republics it dictates candidates. Had the conditions been changed and the National convention of the Republicans assembled in Albany, it is scarcely to be doubted that Mr. Seward would have been nominated. It is quite certain that Mr. Lincoln would not have been nominated. The great achievement at Chicago was the nomination of Mr. Lincoln without

offending the supporters of Seward. This happy result secured victory for the party in the national contest. No wounds were inflicted, no hatreds planted, no harmonies disturbed. The devotion to the cause was so sincere and so dominant, that the personal ambitions of a lifetime were subordinated in an instant upon the demand of the popular tribunal whose decision was final. The discipline of defeat was endured with grace, and self-abnegation was accepted as the supreme duty of the hour.

—James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, Conn.: The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1884), vol. I, pp. 166-169.

THURLOW WEED

Scenes of wild excitement accompanied the taking of the decisive ballot. Thousands unable to gain admittance to the wigwam were communicated with by watchmen stationed on the roof, and when the president declared that Mr. Lincoln had been nominated, the announcement was greeted with thundering applause. Women waved their handkerchiefs, men shouted themselves hoarse, and children added to the uproar. One hundred guns were fired from the top of an adjoining building, and each report was responded to within by vociferous cheers. A large portrait of Mr. Lincoln, prepared for the purpose, was brought out upon the platform, and simultaneously the Pennsylvania delegation strung up an immense banner with this inscription: "The Keystone State is good for 20,000 Majority for Abe Lincoln, the People's Candidate."

As soon as his voice could be heard, Mr. Evarts, of New York, took the stand and said:

The State of New York, by a full delegation, with complete unanimity of purpose at home, came to this convention and presented for its choice one of its citizens, who had served the State from boyhood up, who had labored for and loved it. We came from a great state, with, as we thought, a great statesman (prolonged cheers), and our love of the great Republic, from which we are all delegates, the great American Union, and our love of the great Republican party of the Union, and our love of our statesman and candidate, made us think that we did our duty to the

country, and the whole country, in expressing our love and preference for him. (Loud cheers.) For, gentlemen, it was from Governor Seward that most of us learned to love Republican principles and the Republican party. (Renewed cheers.) His fidelity to the country, the Constitution, and the laws; his fidelity to the party and the principle that the majority govern; his interest in the advancement of our party to its victory, that our country may rise to its true glory, induces me to assume to speak his sentiments, as I do, indeed, the opinions of our whole delegation, when I move you, as I now do, that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, as the Republican candidate for the suffrages of the whole country for the office of chief magistrate of the American Union, be made unanimous. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

Several gentlemen then endeavored to get the floor, which was accorded to Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, who said:

I am deputed by the united voice of the Massachusetts delegation to second the motion just proposed by the distinguished citizen of New York, who represents the delegation of that noble State. I second that motion, therefore, in the name of Massachusetts, that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be made unanimous. (Loud cheers.) . . . The affection of our hearts and the judgment of our intellects bound our political fortunes to William H. Seward, of New York (cheers); to him, who is the brightest and most shining light of this political generation (applause and cheers); to him, who, by the unanimous selection of the foes of our cause, has for years been the determined standard-bearer of liberty,—William H. Seward. (Loud cheers.) Whether in the legislature of his native State of New York, whether as Governor of that young and growing imperial commonwealth, whether as Senator of the United States, or as a tribune of the people, ever faithful, ever true. (Cheers.) In the thickest and the hottest of every battle there waved the white plume of the gallant leader of New York. (Cheers.) And, gentlemen, by no hand of Massachusetts was it for him to be stricken down . . . It was not for us to strike down William H. Seward, of New York. But, Mr. President and gentlemen, as we love the cause, and as we respect our own convictions, and as we mean to be faithful to the only organization on earth which is in the van of the cause of freedom, so do we, with entire fidelity of heart, with entire concurrence of judgment, with the firmest and most fixed purpose of our will, adopt the opinion of the majority of the convention of delegates, to which the American people have assigned the duty of selection; and as Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, is the choice of the national Republican convention, Abraham Lincoln is at this moment the first choice of the Republicans of Massachusetts. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

—Thurlow Weed Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), pp. 265-267.

NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

We rejoice with everybody around us at the auspicious nomination of ABRAM LINCOLN, of Illinois, whose name since this *Call* ought no longer to be spelt Abram, but with the addition of another syllable like that of the great founder of the Hebrew nationality. He enters into the contest for the Presidency with manifest advantages over those which Mr. Seward would have possessed. Upon the devoted head of the latter have been showered a perfect storm of vituperation and abuse for months and years.

He has been taken for the head and front of the party opposing the government and the Democracy, and it seems to have been taken for granted, if he could be destroyed by foul means or by fair, the party he has done so much to create, would be annihilated also. But now it will be discovered that Seward in the front ranks has "drawn the fire of the enemy," and Lincoln will thereby have the pathway opened for him to an easier victory. The powder of the Democracy has been wasted on one who is not a candidate, and cannot be harmed. What now shall be substituted for the everlasting war cry of "the irrepressible conflict?" . . .

Mr. Lincoln has strong claims to the support not only of the Republicans, but Americans, Union men, and moderate Democrats everywhere. His personal history and rise are so extraordinary and even romantic as must touch the hearts of the great mass of the people. They must love the manliness that has thus won its way amidst discouragements, want of early advantages, and want of patronage. They, indeed, are the lot of thousands, but who like him have overcome their blighting power?

Then he is a conservative and safe man. Whatever he does is judicious and marked with sterling common sense—a staunch friend of our institutions, the Constitution and the Union; with him at the helm, the country can have no fear either of external enemies, or of the more dangerous domestic ones, who, while pretending to be friendly, are plotting all the while for disunion and dismemberment. So conspicuous is the charter of our nominee for the prudent and patriotic constituents, that distinguished

the old Clay Whigs of former days, that we look for the acquiescence of Messrs. Bell and Everett in the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. Certain it is, that it has in the general opinion taken the tongue out of the Bell of the Union Party, so that it cannot be longer sounded to any purpose.

—Editorial, issue of May 19, 1860.

JOHN INSLEY BLAIR

We Concluded to go no further than Springfield Thursday [May 24], and Stay all Night there, and Call on the Nominee for President, Mr. Lincoln & his Lady. After getting Tea at the Hotel . . . We with several of the Delegates Called over to see the President & Lady. We Spent about one Hour with him & his Lady. We found him quite a plain Man, Very Intelligent & Cautious, his Lady quite Talkative & Sociable. We left with the Impression that they each Could fill their Stations with Credit to the Nation.

—Diary of John Insley Blair.

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

FROM THE LIBRARY

WILLIAM H. GAINES, JR.

Church, State, and Family Trees

WHILE church and state are officially declared separate in the United States, the two are, by no means, irreconcilable. Indeed, they may work towards some of the same goals, although such co-operation is often unplanned and unintentional. For example, records created by religious bodies and those by governmental authorities may serve a common purpose and may even be consulted by the same persons. Church records and state records, in short, have proved of great value to those indefatigable untanglers of family lines, the genealogists.

Recent additions to the society's genealogical collections typify both categories. The first of these acquisitions consists of seven reels of microfilm of the early records of the Dutch Reformed Church (and allied denominations) in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The originals are preserved in the library of the Holland Society of New York, and the film copies were a gift from the Huguenot Society of New Jersey. They supplement an earlier gift of five reels of Holland Society materials which were given by the Huguenot Society in 1959.

The Dutch Reformed records in the Holland Society have been described and listed in that organization's *Year Book* for 1912. While the majority of the congregations represented there were located in New York, with a few in eastern Pennsylvania, there are seventeen congregations in New Jersey, situated in seven different counties—Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Hunterdon, Morris, Somerset and Sussex—represented in our film copy. (A thirteenth reel of the Holland Society's collection has not yet been acquired. It includes the records of churches at Acquackanonk in Passaic and at Freehold - Middletown in Monmouth, the latter group having been published serially in *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey* since the issue of January 1947. Recent installments of the Freehold-Middletown records are reported in "New Jersey in Print" in this issue, under the heading of "Articles: Genealogical.")

Another recent acquisition of interest to the genealogical workers using the library's resources are five reels of film made of the county tax ratable books in the State Library in Trenton. These were the gift of the Daughters of the American Colonists, New Jersey State Society, and include the extant tax records for the various township, of Essex and Somerset Counties (as well as some townships in Cumber-

land, Gloucester and Salem) for the period between 1778 and 1832. Created by local officials in the various counties of the State, these records provide, to some extent, a substitute for the national census records for New Jersey in the early period, which have never been found and are presumed to have been destroyed. The Society already possessed film copies of the census records for New Jersey for the years 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880, and this new acquisition should prove helpful to those working in an earlier period.

For these additions to the library's holdings, the Society's thanks are due not only to the two organizations which presented the films to the library, but to the Holland Society and the New Jersey State Library which preserved the records and made them available for filming, and also to the numerous church and local officials of long ago who brought these records into existence.

BOOK REVIEWS

Of the reviewers in this issue, Professor Thayer is Professor of History at the Newark College of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University; Mr. Sinclair, a trustee of the New Jersey Historical Society and former editor of the *Proceedings,* is Curator of Special Collections at the Rutgers University Library; Mrs. Drew, of New York City, is at work on a life of Nathanael Greene in collaboration with Professor Hugh Rankin of Tulane University; Mr. Urban is principal librarian of the science and technology sections of the Newark Public Library; Miss Studley is principal New Jersey librarian of the Newark Public Library and a contributor of long standing to these pages.

General John Glover and his Marblehead Mariners. By George Athan Billias. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960. xii, 243 pages.)

Colorful and dramatic, the War for Independence holds a fascination peculiarly its own. Into this great drama marched a regiment of weather-beaten Marblehead fishermen, led by a doughty commander named John Glover. On land and sea, in 1775, Colonel Glover and his men performed valuable services in defending the Massachusetts seacoast towns and harassing British shipping while Washington held the enemy tightly besieged in Boston. It was for their part in the events of 1776, however, that

Glover and his regiment have been immortalized in the pages of American history. After the disastrous Battle of Long Island, when the flower of Washington's army seemed about to be annihilated by the Howe brothers, the Marblehead men stepped forth to save the army. In a single night, while the British lay but a short distance away, Glover and his men manned the boats which evacuated from Brooklyn ten thousand men and all their stores. Similarly, on Christmas night it was Glover and his famous fishermen who transported Washington's army over the treacherous Delaware and made possible the great victory at Trenton.

Shortly after the Battle of Trenton, most of the Marblehead men retired from the Continental Army to serve on privateers. Glover had lost much of his earlier enthusiasm for the war, but he returned to the army in course of time as a brigadier general. Thereafter he served without distinction until the close of the war.

New Jersey readers will be particularly interested in the author's competent handling of the attack on Trenton. In this book there are few errors, and those few are of little consequence. For instance, the author speaks of the destruction of bridges over the Delaware when there were none to destroy, and of Washington's camp opposite Trenton, whereas it was at Newtown and only two or three miles from McKonkey's Ferry. Dr. Billias also overlooks the greater difficulties Cadwalader and Ewing faced in crossing the Delaware below Trenton. Although the current was strong at McKonkey's Ferry, the shores there were not jammed with ice as they were below Trenton. Since Ewing was to land near Trenton, he had to have conditions which would allow him to make a swift timely crossing. This was impossible that night, and Ewing no doubt did right in not attempting it.

By probing deeply into John Glover's life and the events which motivated him, Dr. Billias has produced a valuable contribution to the literature of the American Revolution. In the experiences of this rather commonplace man, on whom for a time smiled the fortunes of war, one can see important aspects of the Revolution that are not always discernible in the biographies of greater men of the period — Theodore Thayer.

History of Chatham, New Jersey (from Its Earliest Settlement through the Revolutionary War). [Second edition.] By Ambrose Ely Vanderpoel. (Chatham, N. J.: Re-published by the Chatham Historical Society, 1959. xx, 433 pages.)

The two editions of this interesting work, nearly thirty years apart, illustrate unusual extremes in the philosophy of historical publication. The compiler was a wealthy, apparently eccentric resident of Chatham, and an assiduous scrounger in the history of that community. Adding the product of his own extended research to that of an uncle,

Edwin A. Ely, he wrote and published in 1921 his *History of Chatham, New Jersey*—in an edition of six copies!

To those who, like the present reviewer, spend their professional and private lives in the dissemination of historical knowledge, it is sin and folly to make such material deliberately rare. However, be it said in Mr. Vanderpoel's defense that he regarded the 1921 *History* as a preliminary exercise — in fact not even a publication in the strict sense—and planned a revised edition at some later time. He died a few years after, inevitably of course without producing a second edition.

Like the weather, this situation attracted its share of grumblers over the years, until finally in 1953 Mrs. Edna Van Sickle Budd, of the Chatham Historical Society, decided to do something about it. Intending it as a memorial to her late husband, Merritt Lum Budd, she resolved to reprint somehow Mr. Vanderpoel's rare history. Although at the time inexperienced in publication techniques, she possessed an astounding capacity for organization which carried the project to success. And now at last the history is available to all, as history should be—in an edition of two thousand.

The author's own copy of the 1921 book, containing many longhand revisions, formed the basis of the second edition; however, the revisions go beyond those intended by Mr. Vanderpoel. Mrs. Budd and her willing helpers have provided the book with a competent bibliography—no easy job, since it had to be constructed from the 1921 footnote citations, which were (to say the least) very casual. In addition, a first-class index has been prepared. The original text, except for these clearly-defined improvements and the correction of a few obvious errors, has been reprinted virtually intact. The inaccessible edition of 1921 is now superseded completely.

The book might more correctly have been entitled "Chatham and Vicinity During the Revolution." Eighteen of the twenty chapters are devoted to the War, and the subsequent history is not covered at all. The first two chapters tell in detail the story of Chatham's early settlement and the division of lands in that area, based upon researches in many original sources, some no longer extant. The same original research shows itself, along with an awareness of local traditions, in the chapters dealing with events of the Revolution. The text contains numerous copies of wartime letters and excerpts from other sources.

The organization of the history is a loose one. Interspersed at various points in the Revolutionary chapters are biographical sketches, several of them quite lengthy, e.g., of the printer-patriot Shepard Kollock and the fiery Parson Caldwell who died tragically in 1781. There is a certain amount of genealogy

also, but it is largely subordinated. A few incidental defects exist—for example, the carelessness about citations, and also occasional inaccuracies as to names. Nevertheless, in this substantial, fact-filled history, Chatham and its historical society deserve the envy of other New Jersey communities.—DONALD A. SINCLAIR.

Nathanael Greene: Strategist of the American Revolution, BY THEODORE THAYER (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1960.) Although Major General Nathanael Greene, the most diversely talented of Washington's field officers, has long deserved a twentieth-century biography, Professor Thayer's is the first published since 1893. The source materials in libraries all across the country which relate directly and indirectly to Greene are probably as numerous as the leaves on an ancient oak. To absorb, select and arrange this material skillfully, and to compose from it a three-dimensional portrait, might well consume a score of years and fill two or more volumes. Professor Thayer's subtitle, "Strategist of the American Revolution," however, suggests that his purpose is more modest.

While the story of Nathanael's early years in Rhode Island is largely retold from two nineteenth-century biographies — written by Greene's grandson Professor George Washington Greene, and by Supreme Court Justice William Johnson of South Carolina—, there are also references to documents in the Rhode Island Archives and to the General's letters to young Samuel Ward, Jr. Thayer makes a good deal of Greene's Quaker upbringing, but one of the letters to Sammy suggests that the future general's extensive reading had led him to abandon the narrow Quaker ideas of his day long before he was actually read out of meeting following his attendance at a military parade in Connecticut.

When the war began, Greene was chosen by his fellow members of the Rhode Island Assembly to lead the state's 1500-man Army of Observation to Cambridge in May 1775, and he did not return to civilian life until late in 1783. Thayer accompanies him for more than eight years over great distances and commendably avoids excursions along side roads. Green's belief that Fort Washington could be held against attack was, as Thayer frankly admits, his greatest error of military judgment. Never again did Greene fail to retreat in time to save his army. The unfortunate incident, however, did not weaken Washington's confidence in his subordinate, and Greene fought with him at Trenton and Princeton, led a delaying action at Brandywine, and commanded the left wing at Germantown and the right at Monmouth.

It was his conduct of the campaign in the South which demonstrated for all time Greene's mili-

tary genius. Reading this account of it, one accompanies the small army, with its fantastically frequent turnover due to short enlistments, as it suffers cold, hunger, heat, fever, march and countermarch, and still fights, bleeds, and dies. One observes Greene's grasp of the topography of the country, his analysis of his problems, his plans for their solution, and his skillful maneuvering of his forces, sometimes in one body, sometimes in detachments. Greene's main army, as the author shows, never won a battle, but it always inflicted such disproportionate damage on the enemy as to deny them any advantages of victory. By the winter of 1782 the British had been swept from every southern post except Charleston, which they voluntarily evacuated in December.

The General held other responsibilities, however, and one of these involved him in controversy. From March 1778 until August 1780 he served as Quartermaster General, a post he accepted with reluctance. For some reason Thayer does not distinguish between his job, which involved transportation and housing of troops, and that of Jeremiah Wadsworth, the Commissary General of Purchases, which was largely concerned with the procurement of rations. Greene's task was a continual headache, particularly as the currency daily depreciated, and he had many altercations with Congress concerning his Department. Finally, he sent in his letter of resignation, one paragraph of which greatly enraged the gentlemen in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, Thayer does not quote from it.

Historians have recently accused Greene of conflict of interest in the investment of the funds he earned while Quartermaster. In his own time he was suspected, when in the South, of a personal financial interest in the firm of Hunter and Banks of Virginia, with whom he made and co-signed (because of shaky U. S. credit) a contract for supplies for the Southern Army. Thayer believes that he may have been guilty to some extent in the first case, and that in the second, as Greene and his staff maintained, the suspicions were probably unfounded.

Professor Thayer has given a fair and extensive account of Greene's military experiences. He has commented rather briefly and not quite so objectively upon his relations with his contemporaries and upon the quality of his personality. A reader may disagree with the author from time to time and may wish that more source material had been consulted and quoted, but he can here begin to make the acquaintance of Nathanael Greene, a man of parts, and to sense that the nation suffered a loss by his early death in 1786. Greene had done considerable thinking about political problems and earnestly desired a firm union and a strong national government. He might well have won far more than military acclaim had he lived to participate in the formation and early years of the Republic.—Elizabeth H. Drew.

Edison: A Biography. By Matthew Josephson. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959. 511 pages.)

Matthew Josephson has set out in this biography to reveal Edison as the man he was in the "age of invention" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The author of *The Robber Barons* accepts Edison as one of the folk heroes of America but, at the same time, corrects the false and inaccurate legends that have grown up around him.

In revealing the character of Edison through his work and personal life, Josephson has accomplished what most of the biographers have failed to do. He has presented his subject as a transitional figure in late nineteenth-century science, appearing at a time when mechanical inventors had done their part and systematic experiment and research was beginning to be undertaken by specialized scientists on a much larger scale.

One of Edison's greatest contributions in this field was the research laboratory, and the laboratories he established at Menlo Park and West Orange are described in detail. The significance of these lies in the fact that the "Wizard" worked with a team consisting not only of machinists and technical men but also of several persons with formal scientific training. The laboratory at Menlo Park thus served as a pilot model for the great industrial laboratories of later years. Josephson's description of the work in the laboratories shows Edison's deficiencies in scientific knowledge and his dependence on men with formal training in mathematics and electrical engineering.

Edison's great achievement in the development of the electric light was not the incandescent lamp, for this had been invented some years before, but in making electric light useful and cheap by an unprecedented system of circuits. Instead of first devising the lamp and then finding means of using it, Edison reversed the sequence, began with the system, and then devised a lamp to fit it.

Josephson is a master of narrative style, and in some places the story moves so quickly that he allows himself little time for character analysis. He does, however, make clear Edison's ability to inspire his men to work at high pitch, over long periods of time, without ever sacrificing his own position at their head. His public relations were so effective, indeed, that most people were convinced that everything from his laboratory was the "Wizard's" exclusive brain child.

Writing mainly from laboratory records, correspondence, contemporary newspaper accounts and family history, Josephson has presented Edison's life and work in comprehensive detail. In scope and treatment, this biography comes close to being definitive.—William Urban.

Bergen County, a Bibliography of Historical Books, Pamphlets and Maps and Certain Other Items Pertaining Thereto. Compiled by

J. M. Ransom. (North Hackensack. Bergen County Historical Society, 1960. 28 pages.)

Gates leading to some fascinating roads into the past have been opened in this very useful finding list. Bergen County means "Old Bergen" as well as the present area; the "certain other items" are important manuscripts, documents and periodicals. Listing is by title with an author index and location symbols for fifteen public, private and society libraries. Publication date is given, and an occasional descriptive note. There is no general index, but an ingenious classification by topic, including such broad general subjects as iron, Indians, Revolutionary War, and lists of individual family histories, churches, and towns. Reference to the body of the bibliography from this classification and from the author index is by item number. The Bergen County Society will be glad to receive suggestions for possible additions.

Produced by offset printing, with adequate spacing and margins, the 8½ by 11 size makes the format uniform with bibliographies recently issued by the State, and worthy to be copied if other county societies should follow Mr. Ransom's example. The Bergen County Historical Society deserves our warmest thanks. We hope that by the Tercentenary year New Jersey may have a whole shelf of county bibliographies.—Miriam V. Studley.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

WILLIAM H. GAINES, JR.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Historical Booklet of Bernards Township, N. J., Published to Commemorate the Bicentennial, 1760-1960. (Basking Ridge, 1960. Unpaged.) Contains material on Basking Ridge, Bernardsville, Liberty Corners and other communities in the township. Profusely illustrated with maps and old photographs.

Jewish Roots: A History of the Jewish Community of Passaic and Environs. (Published by the Tercentary Committee of the Jewish Community Council of Passaic-Clifton and Vicinity, 1959. xiii, 131 pages.)

Stephen Crane: Letters. Edited by R. W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes. (New York: New York University Press, 1960. xxxi, 366 pages.) This volume throws light on the personal life and the professional achievements of the Newark-born novelist. There are references to Newark and to Lake

View, now part of Paterson, where Crane began work on *The Red Badge of Courage.*

Woodrow Wilson at Princeton. By Hardin Craig. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. xii, 176 pages.) A discussion of his educational theories and policies as president of Princeton and their relevance for today, by one of Wilson's original "preceptor guys."

ARTICLES

GENERAL

"A Celebrated Revolutionary Highway: II," by Willard De Yoe, in *De Halve Maen,* April 1960, pp. 7-8. Concluding installment.

"Fairleigh Dickinson University-Right Arm of Business," by John T. Cunningham, in *New Jersey Business,* March 1960, pp. 19-24.

"The Governor," by Robert H. Yard, in *New Jersey Bell,* March 1960, pp. 2-7. First in a series on the State's government. A second article in the series, "The State Department of Conservation and Economic Development," by Mr. Yard, appeared in the May issue, pp. 6-10.

"The History of Fifty Years of Boy Scouting in Paterson, N. J.," by Capt. Andrew T. Derron, in *Bulletin of the Passaic County Historical Society,* February 1960, pp. 17-26.

"Nicholas Romayne, 1756-1817: Stormy Petrel of American Medical Education," by Dr. Fred B. Rogers, in *Journal of Medical Education* (March 1960), pp. 258-263. Romayne was for a time on the faculty of Queen's College (now Rutgers).

"Old Gloucester County," by Mrs. Walter A. (Hazel B.) Simpson, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1960, pp. 272-275.

"The Orange Crosstown Line; a history of the Orange and Passaic Railway Lines Public Service Railway," by Edward T. Francis, in *The Marker,* March 1957, pp. 1-14.

"Salvaging New Jersey's Prehistoric Sites," by Dorothy Cross, in *NJEA Review,* April 1960, pp. 393, 408-409.

"10th 'Old House Tour' Stresses Cape Heritage," in *New Jersey County Government,* June 1958, p. 27.

"Woodrow Wilson's First Romance," by George C. Osborn in *Ohio Historical Quarterly,* January 1958, pp. 1-20.

GENEALOGY

"Annotations for the North Schraalenburgh Church Death Records of 1782-1824," by George Olin Zabriskie, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1959, pp. 19-24; July/October 1959, pp. 86-91; and January 1960, pp. 25-30.

"Burials in 'Old First' Presbyterian Cemetery, Broad Street, Newark," in *New Jersey Genesis,* July 1959, pp. 242-244; October 1959, 252-

254; and January 1960, pp. 260-263.

"Certain Halsey-Pool Groups, Morris County, New Jersey," by Donald Lines Jacobus, in *American Genealogist,* January 1960, pp. 21-29.

"Clarkson Bible Records," by John Insley Coddington, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1959, pp. 53-56.

"Essex County Gravestones: First Methodist Church Yard, Montclair," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1959, pp. 49-52.

"Hunterdon County Gravestones: Readington Reformed Church Yard, Readington Township," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January 1960, pp. 14-24, and May 1960, pp. 78-90. To be continued.

"The Janeway Account Books," by Kenn Stryker-Rodda, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1958, pp. 1-10; July/October 1958, pp. 73-81; January/April 1959, pp. 41-48; July/October 1959, pp. 72-84; January 1960, pp. 40-47; and May 1960, pp. 91-96.

"John Loofburrow of Woodbridge, Founder of the Loofburrow Family in America," by Edith Loughborough Mulford, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1959, pp. 1-8.

"McMurty-Terhune-Danfield Bible Records," compiled by Adnah McMurtrie, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* October 1959, pp. 217-224.

"Ocean County Gravestones: Zion Methodist Cemetery, near New Egypt," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January 1960, pp. 1-6; May, 1960, pp. 73-77.

"Old Presbyterian Burial Ground," in *Bulletin of the Gloucester County Historical Society,* June 1958.

"Records of the Dutch Congregation of Freehold and Middletown," contributed by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1957, pp. 69-77. Continuation.

"Records of St. James' Episcopal Church, Delaware [Warren County]," by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* May 1960, pp. 54-61. To be continued.

"Records of the Dutch Congregations of Freehold and Middletown," by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1958, pp. 38-48; July/October 1958, pp. 87-96; January/April 1959, pp. 25-33; July/October 1959, pp. 63-72; and January 1960, pp. 34-40.

"The Rev. Johannes Polhemus, and Some of his Descendants," by Heyward Peck, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* October 1959, pp. 225-239.

"Smith of Amwelbury, N.J., Mason and Darken Collaterals," by Lewis D. Cook, in *American Genealogist,* July 1959, pp. 161-171.

"Smith of Hedgefield, Salem County, N. J.," by Lewis D. Cook, in

American Genealogist, October 1959, pp. 215-218. In the same issue and by the same author is "Smith of Smithfield, Salem County, N. J.," pp. 219-226.

"Somerset County Gravestones: Harlingen Cemetery, at Belle Mead," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1957, pp. 87-96. Concluded. Now called Belle Mead Cemetery.

"South Jersey Bible Records," by Mrs. Hazel B. Simpson, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1959, pp. 9-18.

"South Jersey Daytons," by Walter Lee Sheppard, Jr., in *American Genealogist,* January 1958, pp. 5-11.

"Two Jacob Zabriskies," by George Olin Zabriskie, in *De Halve Maen,* October 1959, pp. 9-10; also in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* May 1960, pp. 70-72.

"Union County Gravestones: Scotch Plains Baptist Church Yard," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* May 1960, pp. 62-69. To be continued.

"Van Pelt Family Bible Records," in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* January 1960, pp. 4-5.

"The Van Wickelen Family," by Richard W. Cook, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* May 1960, pp. 49-53.

"Warren County Gravestones: First Presbyterian Churchyard of Oxford at Hazen, White Township," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1957, pp. 61-68.

"Warren County Gravestones: Yellow Frame Cemetery," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1958, pp. 49-58; January/April 1959, pp. 34-40; and July/October 1959, pp. 57-62.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

LOOKING FOR V.I.P.'s?

Perhaps you have one in hand, or did he disappear into an antique shop? Before searching elsewhere, look in some dark corner of your home, for V.I.P.'s are by no means all found in the flesh—not any longer, that is. This is not to imply that you are looking for a ghost; many very important people are to be had in bisque, Parian ware, printed fabric, or even a bit of glass. In fact, the one you especially want for your collection might be a legend existing vicariously in a scrap of paper or cotton.

Assembling a group of V.I.P.'s is fun, as those know who have done so. Some people, of course, prefer inviting them to dinner—getting all hot and bothered beforehand and, afterwards, having nothing to show for the effort. A group of important men, such as the Presidents of the United States, seated on a mantel shelf or in a cabinet, or hanging on the wall in a row of Currier and Ives prints, will provide interest and conversation indefinitely—and, if one proves boring, you can always throw him out.

Who to select? Take the Father of our Country, for example, the most important American one can name. You expect to find portraits of him, but what about pictures in Berlin woolwork, such as "George Washington Crossing the Delaware," copied from Emanuel Leutze's painting by an ambitious damsel "for my dear parents" in the late 1850's? Bronzes showing the General afoot and ahorse are numerous but how about an English copperplate print on linen? In the design known as "The Apotheosis of Franklin" or "American Independence 1776" has the General eluded you, or did you recognize that it was he standing in a chariot drawn by leopards? Washington is more easily recognized in another English plate-printed textile known as "America presenting at the Altar of Liberty medallions of her illustrious sons", in which the standing figure is after John Trumbull's portrait painted in 1780. Some Staffordshire cottage figures portray our first President as a sad travesty of America's dignified and beloved hero, but few of these busts are found in America, today. In the Newark Museum's collection is a Liverpool pitcher of cream-colored ware showing the "Apotheosis of Washington" in black transfer print. Above the tomb from which Father Time raises him is the inscription "Sacred to the Memory of Washington ob. 17 Dec. A.D. 1799 Ae 68". The piece was produced at the Herculaneum Pottery in Liverpool, England, shortly after Washington's death. The Museum also has a

pitcher in Parian ware with relief decoration. On one side Washington stands with his hand on a scroll impressed AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE; the opposite side shows him taking leave of his mother. Since Parian ware was first made in England in 1842, it is thought this pitcher may have been produced for the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, 1876.

Does the "Swedish nightingale", Jenny Lind, appeal to you? This famous singer made her debut in America under the sponsorship of P. T. Barnum in 1850-1851, and so great was the enthusiasm that everything marketable was named in her honor. If you want a piece of glass for your cupboard, there is the calabash bottle made at Fislerville, New Jersey, in the mid-19th century, which shows the Swedish singer on one side and the Glass Works on the other. She is also represented on a glass calabash bottle attributed to the Ravenna Glass Works in Ohio.

Jenny Lind paper dolls, lithographed in Germany, appeared in a cardboard box with "Jenny Lind in her principal roles" printed in three languages on the cover. Inside the box lid is a half-length portrait of the fair-haired Jenny. The doll, herself, has black hair, for Jenny Lind (christened Johanna) wished that her hair was black and often wore a dark wig on the stage. It is said that the Jenny Lind doll was commissioned at the singer's request. As a child she had longed for a tiny toy theatre and figures for its stage. Now that she walked a real stage she felt that a representation of her various roles might appeal to children. The Jenny Lind set of paper dolls in the Museum's collection was brought for $6.00 some thirty years ago and today similar sets sell for at least $150.00. So, you see, this famous soprano is still a very important person.

Speaking of P. T. Barnum reminds us of "General Tom Thumb" and his wife who, also, were sponsored by Barnum. Charles Sherwood Stratton, the midget known professionally as Tom Thumb, married Lavinia Warren on February 10, 1863, in Grace Episcopal Church, New York. The New-York Historical Society owns a lithograph depicting the wedding ceremony. Alert to the public interest shown in this marriage, McLoughlin Bros. of New York issued paper dolls of the General and his wife, as well as of Lavinia's sister, Minnie, who was a bridesmaid at the wedding. The dolls express the General's innate dignity and Mrs. Thumb's "thirty-two inches of feminine charm." In addition to the McLoughlin dolls the Newark Museum owns a broadcloth suit worn by Tom Thumb.

Since we are on the subject of paper dolls which take up no room in a collection of V.I.P.'s, we might mention Charles Ferson Durant, scientist and aeronaut. Charles Durant (1805-1873) attained notoriety as the first American to pilot a balloon, one of his ascensions being made from Castle Garden, New York, in 1833, with General Andrew Jackson and Black Hawk among

the spectators. He is represented vicariously in the Museum's collection by the paper dolls he made for his two little daughters and "Cousin Clara", who served as models for the dolls. It is nice to think that with a mind full of aeronautical problems Durant could find time to make paper dolls for his children.

If you would like a few aviators among your V.I.P.'s, you might consider Charles Lindberg, the Montgolfier brothers, or J.A.C. Charles. The French brothers, Joseph Michel and Jacques Etienne Montgolfier, were the inventors of the lighter-than-air balloon which made a public ascent from Annonay in June 1783. Later, the Montgolfiers sent a balloon up at Versailles in the presence of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, which landed two miles away. That same year a bronze medal was designed by the French medalist, N. Gatteaux, and awarded to Joseph and Etienne Montgolfier "for having rendered the air navigable." An air balloon of a slightly different type was invented by J.A.C. Charles, French physicist, and made its ascent from Paris on August 27, 1783, rising to a height of 3,000 feet. For some time thereafter the balloon was a popular motif in design.

Zachary Taylor, "'Old Rough and Ready," is an elusive figure even though one finds him portrayed in wallpaper, textiles and glass. On printed textiles he is represented in several battles of the Mexican War mounted on his favorite charger, "Old Whitey," but the figure of Taylor appears quite different in each version. A copperplate and wood-block print—"General Taylor at the Battle of Palo Alto" May 8, 1846 — shows the General with one leg over the pommel of his saddle, a position he found comfortable in his lameness. A different version of General Taylor at this same battle is given in a lithograph by Currier.

About 1847-1848 a pale green flask was produced by the Dyottville Glass Works in Philadelphia with profile portraits of George Washington and Zachary Taylor on the two sides. It is thought the flask was put out during Taylor's presidential campaign.

Ulysses S. Grant is another war hero and President who is represented in various media. Grant served in the Mexican War with Zachary Taylor, was one of the foremost generals of the Civil War, and was President of the United States during 1869—1877. The Museum has a bust of Grant in Parian ware modeled by Isaac Broome for Ott & Brewer of Trenton in 1875. Broome, a reputable American sculptor, was engaged by Ott & Brewer to model a series of works in Parian for the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has Parian busts of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin designed by Isaac Broome for Ott & Brewer.

In the Newark Museum's collection is a fragment of a quilt block relating to Grant's second administration *(Plate 4)*. Incorporated in this bit of printed cotton are the

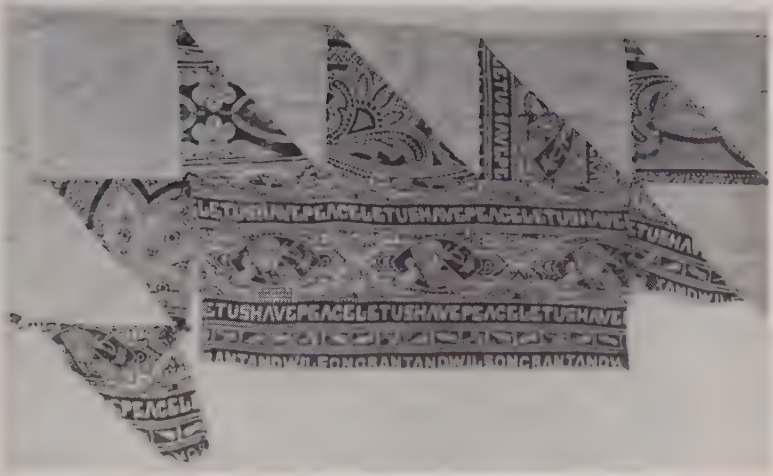

Plate 4. Part of a quilt block using a printed textile dating from President Grant's 2nd administration. The term "Let us have Peace" was used by Grant in his letter of acceptance written May 29, 1868. *(Published courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, N. J.)*

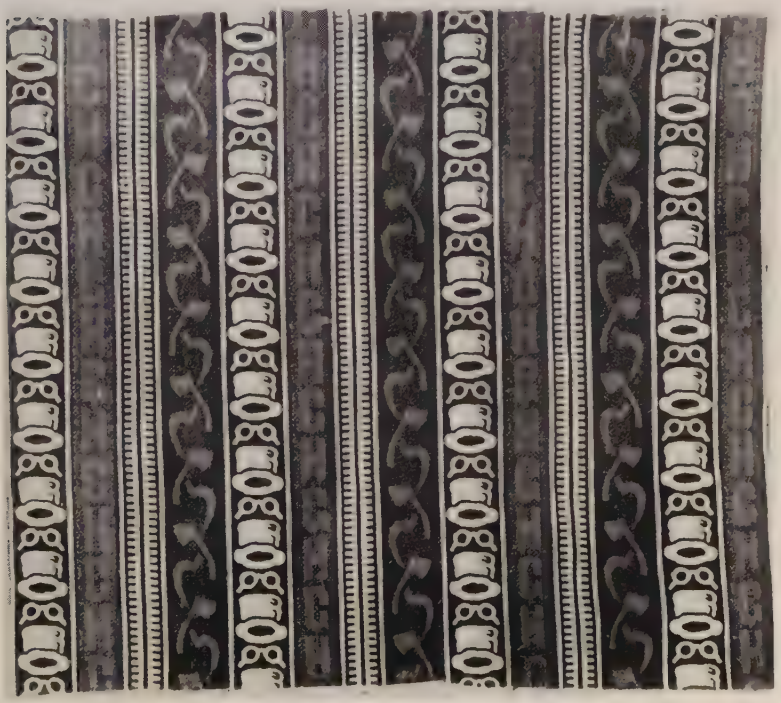

Plate 5. Printed cotton dating from 1872, when Horace Greeley ran for President against U. S. Grant.

Plate 6. Engraved ticket for the inauguration of President William McKinley on March 4, 1901. *(Owned by the New Jersey Historical Society.)*

words "LET US HAVE PEACE," a phrase used by Grant in his letter of May 29, 1868, accepting nomination to the Presidency. The letters G and W and the names GRANT AND WILSON, which form a running band in the design, refer to Grant's second administration when Henry Wilson served as Vice-President. The shoemaker's tools incorporated in the design are explained by the fact that as a young man Wilson was a cobbler. It is assumed this textile was printed about 1872-1873.

In 1872 Horace Greeley also accepted nomination for the Presidency and ran against Ulysses Simpson Grant, but Greeley was badly defeated in the November election. A fragment of printed cotton associated with the campaign shows the letters HG and the spectacles and white hat associated with Greeley. The ax and sickle, also incorporated in the design, probably represent the slogan "Go West, young man, go West." Both the New Jersey Historical Society and the Newark Museum own this textile *(Plate 5)*.

Election ballots offer various points of interest, such as "Polk and Dallas and no monopoly!", or the

Grand National Democratic Banner
Polk, the Young Hickory
Dallas and Vistory

in the collection of the Historical Society. The Society also has four pairs of ballots dating from the Presidential campaign of 1860: for Lincoln, on the Republican ticket; for Douglass and Johnson and for Breckinridge and Lane, on the rival Democratic tickets: for Bell and Everett, on the Union ticket.

Other items of Lincolniana in the Historical Society's collection are a Rogers group, "The Council of War," showing Lincoln, Grant and Stanton; a piece of black silk on which is printed in white the "Programme of Procession to escort the remains of President Lincoln" from the Chicago Court House to the funeral train for Springfield, Illinois, on May 1st, 1865.

In 1880, when James Garfield ran against Winfield Scott Hancock, Frank Harrison & Co. of 206-208 Broadway, New York City, issued *The Campaign Primer* with rhymes adapted from *Mother Goose,* which sold for ten cents.

The Museum has an election ballot of November 8, 1892 for Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson, with John Kean, Jr., for Governor of New Jersey.

Another interesting way to assemble important people is with the aid of event or campaign handkerchiefs. These inexpensive affairs of cotton or linen were a means of circulating information and also served as advertising matter. One such printed handkerchief gives "A Faithful representation of the trial of Her Most Gracious Majesty Caroline, Queen of England, in the House of Lords, 1820." Another shows "Samuel Slater, the Father of American Manufacturers." Printed in 1890 by the Cranston Print Works Company of Cranston, Rhode Island, the handkerchief

commemorates Slater's tremendous contribution to the American textile industry, begun at Pawtucket in 1790. It was Slater who constructed successfully, and for the first time in America, the Arkwright machines that established cotton spinning on a practical basis. Slater had worked for years with one of Sir Richard Arkwright's partners in an English mill. Reading of the bounties offered in the United States for the construction of such machines, Slater emigrated to this country, without any patterns but with the designs of the machines in his head. He was commissioned by Moses Brown of Providence, Rhode Island, to make the machines which were started at Pawtucket in December of 1790. The old Slater Mill is now a museum. An earlier type of commemorative handkerchief depicting the signing of the Declaration of Independence is illustrated in the *Proceedings* for October, 1957.

A campaign handkerchief printed in colors in 1904 shows Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks. Nominated for Vice-President on the Republican ticket with William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt became President on McKinley's death in 1901 and was reelected in 1904 when he ran against Alton B. Parker. The New Jersey Historical Society has an engraved ticket *(Plate 6)* for the inauguration of William McKinley on March 4, 1901. The Committee of Arrangements was headed by Mark Hanna, and Joseph G. Cannon—"Uncle Joe"—was one of the six committee members.

When Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson were running for President and Vice-President in 1892, Cleveland was pictured on a campaign card advertising Hood's Sarsaparilla, "100 Doses One Dollar." The Potter's Cooperative Company, of East Liverpool, Ohio, put out a whiteware plate with portraits of the two candidates in black transfer print.

In this campaign year it is interesting to note what style of publicity was given to candidates in the past. Will we see its like again?

THE MAILBOX

This newly launched department is intended to serve several purposes. It should give recognition to the kindness (not to mention the learning) of readers who take the trouble to write to us, stimulate others to like efforts, correct errors in the magazine, and provide a convenient forum for the discussion of subjects of general interest to the Society. The Editor regrets that limitations of space will probably necessitate cutting letters to brief extracts.

Enoch Green's Death — A Correction

To the Editor of the *Proceedings:*

In the interesting article of Stewart Robinson on "Campus Evangelism" (April issue) . . . it is noted that Enoch Green died of fever in New York "during the same summer" (1776). Actually he did not die until December 2, 1776, and he died at his home in Deerfield, Cumberland County. The cause of his death, however, was the camp fever which he contracted in the army, and which plagued him thereafter.

Medford Lakes, N. J.

ARTHUR D. PIERCE

Against Renaming the Magazine

To the Editor of the *Proceedings:*

My vote is to continue the present name. There are enough changes taking place. The magazine will be read only when it is interesting. Personally, I always find it worth while.

Matawan, N. J.

ROBERT W. CHASTENEY

[Mr. Pierce cast his vote, also, for the *status quo*—Ed.]

THE EDITOR'S DESK

TOWARD AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In the now somewhat remote year of 1845, when the New Jersey Historical Society was founded, the office of corresponding secretary in the fledgling organization was entrusted to William Whitehead, the historian. So well and faithfully did he discharge his duties that he continued in office for forty years, carrying on valuable historical work, communicating his enthusiasm to others, and generally keeping life in the Society during a highly critical period. Whitehead died in 1884, but the memory of his great services to the Society did not, it is pleasant to report, die with him. Indeed, on May first of this year a memorial tablet was dedicated in his honor at services in the fine old church of St. Peter at Perth Amboy.

Now the Society has lost another leader, whose services are comparable to Whitehead's and will be kept, like his, in vivid remembrance many a long year. On May 6, 1960, Charles Burnet Bradley died. The resolution adopted unanimously by the Board of Trustees at their subsequent meeting is here in part reproduced:

"A great-grandson of Joseph C. Hornblower, the Society's first president (1845-1864) and Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, and a grandson of Joseph P. Bradley, the Society's first recording secretary (1845-1847) and a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Mr. Bradley came naturally by his interest in the Society and in New Jersey history, of which his knowledge was profound.

He became a member in 1895, and was elected a trustee in 1931, in which capacity he continued to serve, except during active service in the United States Naval Reserve in World War II. He was elected a vice president in 1934, president in 1945, and a patron in 1959. As president, he served illustriously for five

years; and thereafter he continued as a member of the finance and executive committees until his death.

The period covered by Mr. Bradley's services to the Society included the years of the Great Depression, when its finances were in a precarious condition because of the large debt theretofore incurred in erecting and equipping its present building; and it was due, in large part, to his devotion, his generosity, and his investment acumen that it not only weathered the storm, but emerged debt-free and with substantial invested funds.

. . . Although by nature conservative in all things and prone to wish the Society to be a repository for matters historical and to conserve its resources to that end, he was among the first to see that its true value to the people of New Jersey lay in the dissemination of historical knowledge, and to approve a program of activity designed to carry out that purpose through the limited use of capital.

Now THEREFORE, the Board desires to spread upon the records its acknowledgment of the great debt which the Society owes to Mr. Bradley for thirty years of invaluable service . . ."

* * * *

This magazine owes debts of gratitude which mount, it must be confessed, at an extraordinary rate. It could not exist, of course, without the astonishing flow of contributions that comes unsolicited to this desk, from caverns perhaps not measureless to man, but as mysterious to the Editor as any watered by Alph, the sacred river. Other benefactors—patrons, subscribers, advertisers and more besides—are too numerous to mention, but a word must be reserved for our correspondents, to whom with this issue we are devoting a new department.

It would perhaps be an exaggeration to say that letters to the Editor are as important to a magazine as the return of blood to the human heart, but in both instances the circulatory system can doubtless be called beneficial. In the case of the *Proceedings,* it is especially helpful to have attention directed by correspondents to errors in preceding issues, and in the future the difficult and frequently embarrassing task of publishing corrections can be largely entrusted to the new department. Nothing, however, can

save the Editor from the admission that in the last (April) issue the captions under Plates 4 and 5 are reversed—an unpardonable blunder.

* * * *

In the gloom induced by such discoveries, it is a consolation to come upon the quaint language of old Jeremy Taylor, who seems to have thought little of infallibiliy, in editors or any one else: "Man thinks it the finest thing in the world to know much, and therefore is hugely apt to esteem himself better than his brethren if he knows some little impertinences, and them imperfectly, and that with infinite uncertainty; but God hath been pleased, with a rare art, to prevent the inconveniences apt to arise by this passionate longing after knowledge; even by giving to every man a sufficient opinion of his own understanding."

Be that as it may, this magazine is intended for readers who want "to know much," and the Editor hopes that any of them who have little impertinences to contribute, or to correct, will by all means do so. The Mailbox is open; let us have it well filled.

The Collections

OF

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I. East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments: A Narrative of Events Connected with the Settlement and Progress of the Providence, until the Surrender of the Government to the Crown in 1703. *By William A. Whitehead,* 1846. *Second Edition,* 1875.

II. The Life of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling; Major General in the Army of the United States, during the Revolution: With Selections from his Correspondence by his grandson, William Alexander Duer, LL.D. 1847. *(Out of Print.)*

III. The Provincial Courts of New Jersey, with Sketches of the Bench and Bar. *By Richard S. Field,* 1849. *(Out of Print.)*

IV. The Papers of Lewis Morris, Governor of the Province of New Jersey, from 1738 to 1746. 1852.

V. An Analytical Index to the Colonial Documents of New Jersey in the State Paper Offices of England. *Compiled by Henry Stevens. Edited by William A. Whitehead,* 1858.

VI. Records of the Town of Newark, New Jersey, from its Settlement in 1666, to its Incorporation as a City in 1836. 1864.
Supplement: Proceedings Commemorative of the Settlement of Newark, New Jersey, on its Two Hundredth Anniversary, May 17th, 1866.

VII. The Constitution and Government of the Province and State of New Jersey, with Biographical Sketches of the Governors from 1776 to 1845, and Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar, during more than Half a Century. *By Lucius Q. C. Elmer,* LL.D. 1872.

VIII. Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the New Jersey Historical Society, at Newark, N. J., May 16, 1895.

IX. New Jersey Biographical and Genealogical Notes from the Volumes of the New Jersey Archives with Additions and Supplements. *By the late William Nelson.* 1916.

X. The Loyalists of New Jersey: Their Memorials, Petitions, Claims, etc. from English Records. *By E. Alfred Jones,* M.A., F.R.HIST. SOC. 1927.

XI. A Guide to the Manuscript Collection of The New Jersey Historical Society. *By Fred Shelley, Librarian.* 1957.

XII. Juet's Journal. The Voyage of the *Half Moon* from 4 April to 7 November 1609. *By Robert Juet. Introduction by John T. Cunningham. Edited by Robert M. Lunny.* 1959.

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